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Memoir of the Life and Episcopate

OF

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND, 1841—1869;
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, 1867—1878.

VOL. II.

Yours most truly
G. A. Lichfield

Memoir of the Life and Episcopate

OF

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND, 1841-1869;
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, 1867-1878.

BY THE

REV. H. W. TUCKER, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "UNDER HIS BANNER," "MEMOIR OF BISHOP FEILD," ETC., ETC.

WITH TWO PORTRAITS, LITHOGRAPHS, AND MAPS.

"IMPLESTI MERITIS SOLIS UTRAMQUE DOMUM."

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOLUME II.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE
New Zealand and England, 1852—1854 . . 1

CHAPTER II.

New Zealand and Melanesia, 1855—1859 35

CHAPTER III.

Ecclesiastical Organization 84

CHAPTER IV.

The Maori War . . 156

CHAPTER V.

New Zealand and Lichfield, 1860—1867 211

CHAPTER VI.

Lichfield and New Zealand, 1868—1870 . 246

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE
Lichfield, 1871—1877 286

CHAPTER VIII.

Principles and Convictions 330

CHAPTER IX.

Last Days 369

CHAPTER X.

Summary 377

Portrait of the Bishop [1877] . . . . *Frontispiece.*
Conspectus of Creeds . . . . *To face p.* 352
Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral . . *P.* 386

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

NEW ZEALAND AND ENGLAND.

[1852-1854.]

The Visitation on which the bishop was engaged in the summer of 1851-2, did not come to an end, as was mentioned in the last chapter, until March 29 of the latter year. It supplied many subjects of anxiety and of regret; the people had accepted Christianity eagerly and sincerely, but an emotional system of religion without a strict system of teaching and discipline had left them without backbone, moral or intellectual, and a time of reaction had set in. The young men fell away from Christianity, or declined to accept it, and the great mortality of the young children gave but small hope of the future of the Maori race. The confirmees were mostly middle aged: the children were uneducated, and the young men were growing up indifferent to Christianity, and despising the restraints of heathenism which their fathers had acknowledged: the missionaries, burdened with the charge of enormous districts, had been unable to give to the young that moral and social training which was necessary if Christianity was to be a power. Some of them gratefully acknowledged the bishop's efforts, and succeeded in establishing boarding-schools in their missions, and the people everywhere offered tracts of land for schools, if only the bishop could officer and superintend them; but, as he said, he could not officer them, and yet he knew that time was being lost, while he could only, like Marius, sit down and weep at the sight of a ruined Carthage.

While on this tour Mr. Abraham met the bishop at Mr. Ashwell's station, Taupiri, and found him literally in the midst of his work.

> "He was in church examining, and at six o'clock he confirmed 200 men and women. This was his forty-fourth confirmation this tour, and completed about the 3,000 whom he examined almost one by one, and satisfied himself of their proficiency. Alas! alas! no young men or women. Out of the 3,000 only fifty perhaps were between sixteen and twenty-six. This is the result of no schools. The young people have utterly set aside Christianity and taken up nothing instead, but doat upon the vices of the towns, and horses, and whale-fishing. Here, however, the bishop's eyes and heart were gladdened by a school. Mr. Ashwell is a deacon of C.M.S. He has fifty girls and twenty boys under his charge, and devotes himself to the work most vigorously."

At another place on this Visitation the fruits of a good girls' school were apparent, and the case was the more interesting as the mistress was a Maori woman, the widow of a great chief.

When her husband died she fled for refuge from heathen habits to the Mission Station to which she became so valuable: her father-in-law came to mourn at his son's funeral, and she observed him sidling off towards a slave with his hand on his tomahawk, and she only just saved the slave from being sacrificed as "Inferiæ" to his son's "Manes." "This old man," wrote Mr. Abraham, "came to the bishop's recent confirmation, and seeing the bishop at the altar, and Mr. Maunsell at the reading desk, he, heathen as he was, walked up to the altar and assumed the vacant seat, saying, that the bishop was the great chief in church and he was next. Mr. Maunsell in vain tried to induce him to move, when just before the confirmation service the bishop beckoned to the faithful Rota, and in a moment he and another lifted the altar bodily over the rails, and shut the gate, leaving the old chief alone terribly disconcerted, and a laughing-stock to the whole community. The bishop's character for readiness of resource and promptness of action rose 100 per cent, and no man dares give himself airs near him. There may be some who would think this rather an irreverent way of treating the altar, but it would have been much more irreverent to have this old heathen giving himself airs there, and ejecting the priest from his place. The thing was done very quickly and quietly, and probably saved a general disturbance."

It must not be thought that the labour of these Visitations was confined to the toil of travel by sea and land, and to occasionally coarse and insufficient fare: there was the ever-present strain to fulfil the programme, to be able to add to the engagements which had been assigned to each date with the condition added D.V., the letters D.G., which were always inserted when the engagement had been kept. There was also the annoyance of living much in public, often in society that was barely congenial, and the lack of all opportunity, save on board ship, for study and privacy. On this Visitation there is an entry in the journal on Ash Wednesday. "Three hours quiet in the chapel between services," which shows how precious and exceptional the privacy was.

Easter was kept at Auckland, and on Easter Monday the bishop wrote a letter which is in truth a striking Easter sermon to his son in England.

AUCKLAND, *April* 12*th*, 1852.

MY VERY DEAR WILLIAM,

I can fancy you now enjoying your Easter holidays with one or other of the kind uncles and aunts, who are to you in the place of your parents; and I know so well their love for you that I feel sure that they have not omitted to teach you all that your dear mother and I have been teaching Johnnie at this holy season. It is this thought which makes us content to be absent from you in the body, though always present in the spirit; and, with such foster-parents as those to whom we have consigned you, we are sure that no one will accuse us of acting like the ostrich, in leaving its egg in the sand, either to be hatched by the heat of the sun, or to be trampled under the foot of the passing beast. But though I feel the most perfect confidence in my dear brother William, who has so kindly undertaken this charge, that he will teach you, as his own son, everything necessary to your soul's health, yet the sight of a father's handwriting, reminding you of my love towards you, will add force to the lessons which you are daily receiving, and to which I can add nothing new, except the peculiar efficacy of counsel given from a distance, and partaking therefore more of the nature of faith than of sight. It is at this season, when the great doctrine of Justification by Faith was first established by the Resurrection of our Lord, that I love to think of my unseen child as seeking for salvation by faith in an unseen God and Saviour. If I were with you, every day and every hour would bring with it some new anxiety; any sign of idleness; any hasty word; any want of reverence; any departure from truth; any disposition to vice; would cause at least a passing doubt, whether you were growing in grace, and increasing in wisdom, as in stature. But now at the distance of half the globe, all is happiness, because every thought is Faith: Faith in the Father who has adopted you for His own child: Faith in the Saviour who has taken you into His arms and blessed you: Faith in the Holy Spirit by whom you were born again to newness of life: and in a lower range, Faith in your uncle, that he will be to you a spiritual father: and Faith in yourself that you will not undervalue or neglect these gifts of God and of man; these blessings of heaven and of earth.

You will soon enter upon a life of peculiar trial—for a public school is a boy's first real acquaintance with the temptations of the world. If I were near you to watch the first effect of Eton upon your mind, what doubts and fears I should have, whenever I observed any sign of the effect of evil companions, weakening your own principles, and abating your love of God and of Christ. But now I can resign you with confidence into the guidance of your heavenly Father; trusting that He will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you will be able to bear. While you trust alone to His arm of strength you may sometimes without trespassing upon the Divine attributes, turn your thoughts to your parents and brother in New Zealand, and think that we are daily praying for you, that your faith may never fail; but that we may be all united in seeking salvation by the one appointed means; and thereby securing for us all a joyful meeting in the life to come through Him who as at this time rose from the dead for our justification.

Your most loving father,
G. A. New Zealand.

The Easter Octave was barely over when, on April 20, the bishop was again afloat in the *Border Maid*, on another tour. On May 26, when the *Border Maid* reached Auckland, the bishop was able to write in his diary, "End of Confirmation tour on which every DV has been marked with a DG to the exact day. Χάρις τῷ Θεῷ."

There was, however, little rest for the bishop; the approaching cold of winter warned him that the delicate Melanesians must without delay be carried back to their native latitudes. He would gladly have been spared the voyage to and the sojourn in the relaxing air of the Tropics, but when the Trinity Sunday Ordination was over, no time was to be lost. One of the boys from Lifu, George Nelson Hector Apale, died on June 2, the bishop being "called out of chapel to commend to God the soul of our dear boy, the first-fruits of Achaia." Another Nengone boy, who had taught him much about his baptism, knelt by his side, while his cousin sat at his head, and exclaimed "Alas, my brother!" and the dying lad dictated a letter to his heathen father, declaring his faith and happiness. Another lad, Cho by name, was ill, and delay was impolitic. On the day after Trinity Sunday the bishop's log contains the following entry:—

June 7th.—"Went on board to hasten preparations for sailing, Cho's illness urging me. Lighted fires on board to smoke for rats. Packed up books and cleared cabin."

And on June 8th there appears the following:—

"Went on board *Border Maid* to open hatches and replace books. Very few dead rats."

On the point of sailing, a letter was written by the bishop to the Rev. Edward Coleridge, which is here given:—

AUCKLAND, *June* 16*th*, 1852.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

On the eve of sailing on my fifth voyage to the Northern Islands, I write just one short line to deprecate your displeasure at the long interval which must occur before you hear from me again. In judging of my punctuality as a correspondent, you must bear in mind, that my year is now parcelled out into large portions, during one of which I am removed far from the range of all post-offices. It is quite possible that a space of six months should now intervene between two of my letters; a time I can assure you which passes over my head so rapidly, as scarcely to leave any distinct consciousness that any necessary duty has been so long postponed—so full of change of scene and of employment is the work to which it has pleased God to call me. But of this you may be sure, that both mind and matter bring you continually to remembrance; whether I travel by land or sea, or remain quietly at home, some evidence of your love is always before my eyes. This thought comes home to me now, when I am just signing the deed of sale of the *Undine*, and preparing to go on board the *Border Maid*—in both of which vessels you have so large a share—in the purchase of the one, and the equipment of the other. I part with a pang from the good little schooner, in which, without cost or parade, I could traverse the sea, protected by the God "Who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," and enables the smallest vessel to ride in safety over the stormy waves. Nothing but the necessity of carrying larger numbers of scholars would have reconciled me to the larger vessel, with its greatly augmented pecuniary responsibility: but as it must be so, I must endeavour that

"Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus et idem."

One dear boy out of our thirteen has been taken to his rest; baptized on his death-bed by C. J. Abraham during my absence at the Bay of Islands, and blessed by me at the moment of his departure. Another is now on board, dangerously ill, but with the hope that a few days' sail to the northward will restore him to health. Our cold winds in autumn always try the constitution of the island boys on their first visit: those who come for the second time appear to be acclimated. Even little Thol, whose life was despaired of in 1850, has spent his second term with us. without the least injury; and is grown into an active and robust boy. Mr. Nihill will stay about two months on Maré with his pupils, and I hope, after further acquaintance with the people, will be able to present some of them to me for baptism. He now speaks their language fluently. Do not expect rapid progress from us amidst these scattered stones of the tower of Babel; but pray for us, that our work may be blessed with fruit in the appointed time of harvest. From your affectionate and grateful Friend,

G. A. New Zealand.

On June 19th the *Border Maid* sailed, and a favourable wind soon carried the shivering Melanesians into warmer regions. At Anaiteum, as usual the first landing-place, the bishop put on shore the Presbyterian teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Inglis, who, with a horse and very much baggage, had had a free passage in the Church-ship from Auckland; the native lad whom Mr. Geddie, another Presbyterian preacher, had asked the bishop to take with him to Auckland in the previous year, was also landed here. At Mare or Nengone the Rev. W. Nihill and his native assistant, Henry Taratoa, were put on shore, together with some scholars. Mr. Nihill spent three months on this island with a view to preparing the way for the permanent settlement of English missionaries, and the bishop sailed northward, visiting amongst other of the Banks' islands, Santa Cruz, which had been one of the most dangerous spots in the Pacific. Here a favourite pupil was regretfully left on shore, the only clothed person among hundreds of naked heathens: "Still it was his home," wrote the bishop, "and God grant that in his simple way he may teach among his own people the true word of life." The Solomon Islands were afterwards thoroughly visited, and the bishop was received with cordiality at Malicolo, where in the previous year he had been in much peril.

The claims of these more distant islands and the short time that could be given to each of them satisfied the bishop that he was not equal to the due supervision of them while hampered by the care of New Zealand, and on August 20 there is the following entry in his diary :—

"The careful superintendence of this multitude of islands will require the services of a missionary bishop, able and willing to devote himself to this work."

But some years elapsed before Mr. Patteson was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia.

On September 25th Nengone was again reached, and Mr. Nihill and his scholars came on board. These last were five in number; among them was George Siapo, who had been a pupil of the bishop's for four years, having first attracted his notice when he went down to the bottom of one of the coral pits in his own island to fetch water for the stranger. He had been among the party on shore at Malicolo, in 1850, and had carried his water-barrel high above his head until he reached the boat; he was now accompanied by his affianced bride and her companion, and thus the problem, how to provide the Christians of Melanesia with Christian wives, which had often exercised the bishop's mind, seemed to be in a way of being solved. The wish of Siapo to have his wife as well educated as himself showed also a great advance in his own Christian character: he had been ill during his stay at Nengone, and had contemplated the probability of never returning to his home, and this anticipation was indeed realised as he died at Auckland in January 1853.

On October 2nd the *Border Maid* sailed round the northern end of Lifu and took on board John Thol, an old favourite and companion of Siapo; on October 21st she dropped anchor in Kohimarama, the college harbour. An English visitor who saw the bishop land at Auckland, and conduct his twenty-five youths and two young women, the representatives of almost as many languages, from the ship to the college, declared that, saving in the weakness of bodily presence and the imperfection of speech, the bishop seemed to him more fully to realize the true conception of the Great Apostle of the Gentiles than he had ever thought possible. There was indeed another point of resemblance between the Apostle and the bishop, for since the day when St. Paul plied his needle and twine, few missionaries have more usefully exercised their skill in this respect than did the bishop, when out of a patchwork bed quilt he made with his own hands dresses for Wabisane and Wasatrutu, the Nengone girls, soon to be baptized by the names of Sarah and Caroline.

On his return the bishop preached a sermon, in which he insisted on the enlarged responsibilities which the increased number of heathen pupils laid on all who were concerned with them. One of those who heard it thus wrote his own impressions:—

Sunday, Oct. 31st, 1852.

The bishop preached from Zech. viii. 23, applying the prophecy, which was never literally fulfilled in the Jewish Church, to its spiritual fulfilment in the Christian; and pointing out its literal fulfilment now before our eyes, when these heathen tribes, which people the sea, are ready to take hold of the skirts of the Christian, and say, "We will go with you, for we know that God is with you." This feeling, more or less clearly shown, is the spring and motive which lures these heathen tribes within our reach. This he illustrated by the figure of the magnet, and instanced, with some detail, the several principles of Gospel truth, which had been witnessed to in their late voyage. The lessons which he drew were striking. He spoke of Unity: that we cast not the stumbling-block of our own unhappy divisions before those who have yet to receive the first principles of our common faith; and he spoke of his own endeavour to act in this spirit in all his dealings with the London Mission, concerning their work in these seas; his willingness to aid and befriend them in all temporal concerns; his desire that their work might be in parallel lines, not in opposition to each other, though it could not be in union. Then personally on each one of us, among whom these youths and children were brought for a season, the heavy responsibility was laid of influencing them for good or evil. They came amongst us civilized men, from their native Isles, with minds and intellects often dim and unused to exertion, but with every perceptive sense and faculty quickened to a degree of which we have no conception;—the eye, accustomed to track the step of every living creature, the flight of every bird in the air, the gliding of the many-coloured fish within their coral caves; the ear, awake in the dead of night to the slightest sound, which might warn them of the approach of an enemy. Youths trained in this constant exercise of these organs of sense, are quick to receive impressions through the senses. It may be but the motion of the hand, the glance of the eye, the expression of a countenance, and you may teach them evil which, though heathens, they know not:—it may be a word, and yet its consequences may remain through eternity. This was worked out; and then the conclusion, in the exhortation to a consistent Christian life, as an example to others, and as our own only peace."

The year 1852 "closed in sorrow," as the bishop entered in his diary on December 31. On the 14th of the same month John Thol had died, "My first Melanesian scholar, dear to me as one of my own children;" the *Border Maid*, which had proved ill found in gear and sails, had to be sold, and the proceeds the bishop felt bound to repay to the Australian dioceses which had purchased her; the great rise in seamen's wages, consequent on the discovery of gold in Australia, would not allow him to commission another ship even if he possessed one. In this month the bishop completed the formal resignation of a portion of his diocese which was constituted, but not until several years had elapsed, the diocese of Wellington.

But amid all his anxieties the bishop had always been able amply to justify his plans, which cavillers both in England and at the antipodes had ridiculed. The time was now at hand when labour was to have its dignity acknowledged, and with something like triumph the Bishop thus told the story to Mr. Coleridge:—

SCHOONER "BORDER MAID," AT ANCHOR,
COROMANDEL HARBOUR,
St. Simon and St. Jude, 1852.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Two days ago it was currently reported in Auckland, that "the bishop was going to the diggings;" for we have now diggings of our own, in this harbour, out of which some small particles of gold have been washed, of the size of pins' heads, whether placed there on purpose by some Dousterswivel or not, remains to be proved. At all events enough has been found to induce the governor to come here in person; and accordingly I have brought him in the *Border Maid*, to show my respect for Her Majesty and my personal regard for Colonel Wynyard. So while the official party have gone off to "the diggings," with mattocks, shovels, tin dishes, &c., to try for gold, I sit down quietly in my cabin to write to a friend whose zealous and unwearied friendship has been to me a more productive mine than any which will be found in New Zealand. How little did people think, when they were laughing at our industrial system at St. John's, that we were training our scholars for the one business which would soon absorb all professions within itself. When the college met Sir Everard Home with a procession of forty spades (an honour as my father said which would have been more suitable to Sir Cloudesley Shovel), no one thought that the day was so near when every parent who then objected to his son being made to work, would be thankful for the strength of arm developed in the course of his college education. We shall soon be quite the fashion, for doctors, lawyers, merchants, and even clergymen, are all digging for gold, and proving that everything is genteel which is well paid; and that digging was only contemptible when it was done for eighteenpence a day. Upon the world's own showing we are now right in our plans, digging for a treasure hidden in a better field; and finding gold where we least expected it, in the hearts of the wildest and most barbarous of men. Now we begin with thankfulness to see and to show what it was for which we dug and delved, when the rivers of milk which now flow from our college pastures are drunk by thirsty islanders from countries where even water is scarce. As for the substitute with which Providence has supplied them in the juice of the cocoa-nut, it is no more to be compared with real milk than the bread-fruit with a quartern loaf; a conclusion first drawn by Dr. Johnson, and since confirmed by all my Polynesian experience. As the master of a large household you will easily understand how anxious our present position would be, with twenty-four new mouths just added to our community, and with a large vessel to maintain, and with prices of all provisions rising, if we had not our own resources, independent of the public markets, and steadily increasing in amount by the certain process of bringing every expenditure as much as possible to bear upon the improvement of the college estate. If our colony, like the others, should prove to be auriferous, we shall be in danger of being too wealthy, for the pressure of small means, and the uncertainty of my income has led to efforts such as poor men only are likely to make; and these will yield a tenfold return by the rapid increase of the value of property. I should look with fear upon this prospect, if I were not also able to look out upon forty degrees of latitude crowded with living souls, among whom the distribution even of the amplest means will scarcely provide, that every one of them may take a little. So if it should please God to give us wealth, I have little doubt of being able to act upon John Wesley's rule for taking out its sting, by giving it away.

Your hint has not been lost upon me, in which you advised me to make it appear that I was not neglecting my own diocese. My dear friend the bishop of Melbourne, one of the least prejudiced and most candid men of his class, wrote to me still more plainly on the same subject. I am well aware of the quarter from which these remarks proceed; but neither this nor any similar attempt at hindrance or interference shall make me cease to esteem that body for their work's sake. Without any mention of names I have informed my *two* metropolitans of Canterbury and Sydney, that these imputations have come to my knowledge; and have sent to them a table (of which you shall have a copy) containing a statement of the manner in which I have spent my time during the last ten years from the day of my landing in New Zealand. The results are curious, and illustrative of the life of a colonial bishop, which can scarcely be understood, and certainly not felt, by any of the good questionists in England. One whole year I have spent at sea, between the English settlements, distant 1,000 miles at their extreme points, and requiring a voyage of 2,500 or 3,000 miles to visit them all. During the whole of this year of voyages I was lost to all the direct objects of my office; but in that time my charge, journals, study of languages, navigation, and the chief part of my correspondence has been accomplished; all bearing upon that work for which alone I live, and to which such powers as God has given to me of body and mind have been devoted. It appears that the English and native duties have occupied nearly equal portions of time; and the Northern missions only half as much as either of them; but the collegiate duties, as being the husbandry of my best garden plot, have absorbed as much time as the English and native visitations put together.

On January 1, 1853, the bishop left Auckland at 7.30, "with a heavy heart:" the entry in his diary goes on to record: "Forded a stream breast high with the flood tide; took the wrong turn about four miles from Horowhenna; found out our mistake and slept in a sheltered hollow on a clear stream. Wet night." The following day was Sunday, and the small party joined in worship, morning and evening, and the Bishop wrote in his journal—"New Year: New Thoughts: New Heart: New Man." Until April 18 the labours of this visitation made principally on foot and partly in canoes, continued day by day. On the fourth Sunday in Lent he wrote a letter to his elder son at Eton, which may well be called extraordinary:—

WAIRARAPA VALLEY, NEAR WELLINGTON,
March 6th, 1853.

MY VERY DEAR CHILD,

I am spending my Sunday with a hospitable Scotch family, under whose roof I have been detained three days by bad weather. It is not often that I have any spare time on Sunday, but as I have just finished my morning services with two congregations of ten each, one Scotch, and the other Maori, I sit down to commune with you, my dear child, and to feel myself united still with you in the bond of the spirit. I am now about 500 miles distant from your dear mother, and thirty times that number of miles from you, yet in a moment the mind is with both, requiring no conductors like the electric telegraph, and quicker in its motion even than light. We can form some faint idea of spiritual agencies by comparing them with the discoveries of science, and then observing how far the most wonderful law of matter falls short of the simplest exercise of mind. The thoughts of time and distance are closely connected; the caravan in the desert measures its journeys by days and hours according to the steady pace of the camel or ass: the earth's surface is measured in longitude either by degrees or hours, but the electric telegraph changes the usual course of our thoughts and daily experience by disconnecting distance from time. Still we have the material wires to stand in the way of the pure conception of a spiritual agency, independent alike of distance and of time. The solar system carries us a step nearer, where we become acquainted with a force by which all the planets are bound to the sun, and one to another. The amount of this force can be calculated with the strictest accuracy, but the nature of the force itself is beyond our comprehension. We simply give the name of gravitation to a power which we cannot explain, and which is so entirely independent of matter as to act equally through a vacuum. But we are conscious of a power within ourselves far more wonderful and inexplicable than any of the forces by which the universe is governed, because they are all reducible to some fixed and, for the most part, uniform law; but the power of thought within us, with all the rapidity of light and of electricity, and with the same power of passing, like gravitation, from earth to heaven, has an infinite versatility, which defies all calculation. If my thoughts, for instance, were subject to any material law, they would gravitate towards each object in proportion to its importance. The greatest part would be directed towards God: the rest in due proportion to your dear mother, to the duties of my office, to my children, and to my friends. But this is contrary to experience. There is no such law constraining us to think of each object according to its real importance; but a wonderful admixture of moral and material agencies; visions of things invisible mingling with recollections of distant objects once seen but now removed from our sight; and all these liable to be shut out by thoughts comparatively worthless, relating to the visible concerns of daily life. When I sit down to write to you, it seems as if all these intervening thoughts and cares were removed; and the warm current of parental love circulates as freely as if no distance separated us the one from the other. I could pour out all my heart to you in overflowing affection, and yet the heart would still seem full, as if certain that an equal measure of your love had been received into it. This is the effect of that intermediate and lower kind of faith, which results from the recollection of objects once seen, but now invisible; such as the love of a parent for an absent child, or of a child for an absent parent. The highest exercise of the same power is in the case of the pure objects of faith, in things wholly invisible; to love an unseen God, and to feel that we are loved by Him, "Whom having not seen, we love; in whom, though now we see Him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."—(1 Peter 1-8.)

I often comfort myself with the hope that our separation may be for the good of both; that this spiritual power of parental influence, exercised from a distance, may be even more effectual than personal intercourse. Certainly it is more akin to that highest of all human influences, which our Redeemer, as the Son of Man, exercises upon His Church, from which His bodily presence has been removed. What a power there is in the thought of the Cross and of Him who hangs upon it, of His bleeding temples, and of His pierced side; and above all, of the meek and forgiving countenance of Him, who in death is praying for his murderers; and yet this image is neither of Faith alone, nor of sight, but of both together; a belief in a written narrative picturing upon the mind a living representation of something in the highest degree mournful. Of this mixed character, but of course infinitely lower in degree, is the influence which, I hope, the recollection of a parent will exercise upon you. You can at will present to your mind some lively image of my life and actions; sometimes enjoying domestic happiness with your dear mother and brother, and Mr. Abraham and Caroline; happiness which you know would be marred in a moment by a single syllable of evil report of you; or you may imagine me riding over the waves in a boisterous gale, and listening to the roar of wind and sea, while you are enjoying the rich swell of the organ in Ely cathedral; or you may suppose me surrounded by a crowd of naked islanders, while you are gazing upon a procession of royal carriages, or the bright cuirasses of the household cavalry. Or in a lower range of subject, while you are eating ices at Layton's, or criticizing breakfasts at the Deanery, you may think of your father as enjoying a bowl of new milk at the cow-shed of some hospitable settler, or sharing a basket of potatoes with some Maori company. In all cases, as each contrast rises before the mind between lives so dissimilar as yours and mine, you will remember that the same thought, which sweetens every inconvenience of my life (for hardships there are none) consoled me also for my separation from you, that it was right to be done, and that what is right, will come right, and will end in happiness, though it begin in sorrow. Every good report of you confirms this ground of comfort. "I have no greater joy than to hear that my child walks in truth."

I remain,
Your truly affectionate father,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

But when the toils of travelling were ended they were only exchanged for more engrossing occupations; a high conception of ministerial duty, and an inadequate clerical staff, rendered leisure or even moderate work impossible, save on board ship. The following extract is taken from the bishop's diary, and must not be considered as in any respect an unparalleled day's work:—

"May 6, Sunday after Ascension.

"8 A.M., hospital; litany and sermon; 'I will pray the Father,' &c.

"9.30, military service; litany; communion; sermon, Elijah and the three captains of fifty.

"11, St. Paul's; full service and sermon, *Isaiah*, 'They shall mount up with wings as eagles;' infant baptism.

"2 P.M., military hospital; evening prayer and sermon, 'I will send you another Comforter.'

"3, gaol; evening prayer and exposition of second lesson, Romans viii.

"4, St. Matthew's; evening prayer; infant baptism and sermon, 'See that ye refuse not Him that speaketh.'

"6, St. Paul's; evening service and sermon, 'Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?'"

Trinity Sunday (May 22) was "a day to be much remembered with thankfulness." Rota Waitoa was ordained deacon, the first of the Maori race to receive the gift of orders; he had been for ten years under the eyes of the bishop, and had been his travelling companion in most of his laborious journeys; the occasion was made one of much solemnity; three archdeacons, three other priests, and three deacons were present. The bishop preached, part of his sermon being in English and part in Maori, the latter drawing bursts of acknowledgment from the natives present. Archdeacon Abraham wrote, four months later, an account of the events of this memorable day and of the causes which had led to them, in the following letter to a friend in England:—

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AUCKLAND, N.Z.,
Sept. 6th, 1853.

It is so important an event in the history of this Church that it deserves a more distinct notice than a newspaper gives. Perhaps the bishop has himself written to you on the subject, as it is one that has been very near his heart all along, and the fulfilment of it (or rather the beginning of the end) was a subject of great comfort and hopefulness to him, and that too at a time when he particularly needed comfort, having suffered a most severe blow to many of his fondest hopes in the temporary suspension of all proceedings at the college, owing to the misconduct of two whom he had trusted, and who had most flagrantly betrayed their trust.

As all the Maoris were soon to leave us, the question forced itself upon the bishop's mind, what was to become of his faithful Rota? He had remained like a faithful Abdiel all along for nigh ten years, adopting every Christian and civilised habit, and thoroughly approving and conforming to our rules and ways. He was much respected by his countrymen, and had a knowledge of Scripture that far surpassed that of any of his people. We had been raising him step by step, putting him in charge of Maori boys and men, making him catechise in church, and accustoming him to such like teacher's work. The question was, then, whether he should be sent home to his tribe (or his wife's tribe), as a catechist or as a clergyman. His wife is a very good woman, and has been educated in the native girls' school and in the bishop's house since her marriage. But still we were afraid that if he went back as only a catechist, he might sink down again to the low native habits, whereas, if he were a clergyman, his own people would take a pride and delight in making him the equal of the English clergyman, and instead of drawing him down would hold him up.

Just while this was balancing, the governor and one or two of the Church Mission clergy, pressed on the bishop very much the importance of making a beginning just now, and mentioned Rota as the fittest person to begin with. There is a general stir amongst them for education; the governor is arranging a plan for educating the whole people and providing them with a graduated scale of schools and colleges. If they could look on to the ministry as the apex, they would be still more earnest in improving themselves, and have a still further motive for steady and Christian conduct; as this appeal coincided with the bishop's own feelings and wishes, he came to the determination of ordaining Rota Waitoa (Rota is the Maori pronunciation of Lot). He spent one or two months in special preparation of him for the ministry, and sent him to the missionary of this district (the Rev. G. A. Kissling) for further instruction, and during the examination week preceding the ordination, Rota was examined by Archdeacon W. Williams, Archdeacon Brown, and myself, and we all expressed the greatest satisfaction with the right feeling and sound sense he showed on the subject, as well as his

Scriptural knowledge. The poor fellow was in floods of tears whenever one tested and probed him at all on the most vital points and sounded his motives; he was so diffident of himself, and yet so well knew where to find strength and support for his work. The point that specially seemed to satisfy the two archdeacons (who were so well acquainted with native character) was his diffidence, whereas the general trait in the character of natives is found to be self-conceit.

Accordingly, on Trinity Sunday, the bishop ordained him deacon, and two English deacons priests at the same time, before a large congregation of English and natives, at St. Paul's Church. The few words of special address to Rota from the bishop were some of the most touching I ever heard. It was quite in the vein of Paul to Timothy, with the paternal feeling of the same apostle to Philemon. Both were deeply affected. Rota officiated that same afternoon, both at the hospital to his sick countrymen, and at St. Barnabas, where I understood his manner and matter gave general satisfaction. He is gone to his wife's home, Te Kawakawa, on the east cape, and I hear excellent accounts of him from all sides.

For the twelve years during which his life was prolonged, Rota Waitoa entirely justified the bishop's action; but the step was taken with small encouragement from the majority of the older missionaries, who, having seen so much of the natives in their barbarism, were slow to believe the change with which their labours had had so much to do.

The winter was now coming on, and sickness among the Melanesians warned the bishop that no time was to be lost in carrying them to their warmer islands; but the *Border Maid* had been sold, and at this time of special need the bishop found himself without a vessel of any kind. The *Undine* could have been chartered, but since the time when the Bishop was wont to "treble-bank his little cabin with native scholars, ranged like the three ranks of Grecian rowers, some on the floor, some on the benches, and some in the berths," new navigation laws had been passed, which would forbid the crowding the bishop's party, which now amounted to thirty, in a ship of so small a tonnage. Nothing remained, therefore, but to go to Sydney, with small hope of finding there a better climate, but with a chance of meeting with a ship that would take him northward. On June 10 the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, with the Melanesians, male and female, sailed in the *Daniel Webster*, and arrived after a long and dangerous passage on the 29th. One of the lads, George Nabong, "the first fruits of Malicolo," died on the voyage, the bishop having baptized him the same day. The voyage, therefore, had been a time of trial, and on landing the bishop heard the news of the death, in England, of his friend Bishop Broughton of Sydney.

There was great difficulty in finding a suitable vessel in which the voyage to the islands could be made, and for seven weeks the bishop and his party were the guests of the Church-folk at Sydney, who outdid their former liberality. On July 29 the barque *Gratitude* sailed for Anaiteum, Nengone, Lifu, and Malicolo, and landed the bishop at Auckland on September 7. The Nengone girls had been landed on their native island, and had carried the news of the death of George Siapo. Two lads had died between Sydney and the islands: the survivors were now returned to their friends, and the parents of those who had died were comforted. There had been, not without reason, some apprehension lest the news of their children's death should lead to some act of violence by way of revenge, but in each case it was found that the parents believed that all care had been bestowed on them, and were reconciled to their loss.

The necessity of personal conference with the authorities of Church and state now convinced the bishop that his presence in England was absolutely demanded. He saw that no constitution would be granted to the Church unless he himself obtained it. Year after year he had convened meetings in all the principal places for the discussion of the question, and had patiently sat out weary conferences while the colonists were losing themselves in mazes of irrelevant talk, which he declined to interrupt, hoping, as he said, that "they would feel their feet for themselves, and stand all the firmer for it." The division of the diocese had become more necessary since the colony had for civil purposes been divided into six provinces. The pacification of the country and consequent dispersion of the colonists had increased the demands for clergymen and schoolmasters, and the native people had given several noble estates for the endowment of industrial schools, and always with the condition that the trust should be for the benefit of both races. The experience acquired in Melanesia had proved that he "could not continue for an indefinite period to conduct these extended duties with any advantage to the Church," and "therefore," he added, "it is my intention to offer my services for seven years, if it please God to prolong my life, as a pioneer to prepare the way for the establishment of a missionary bishopric among the islands of the Western Pacific; and then, after resigning the charge into the hands of the new bishop, to concentrate all effort and to spend the remainder of my days in the place where my heart is fixed."[1]

In November, 1853, the bishop sailed in company with Sir G. Grey, the Governor, in the colonial brig *Victoria* to Norfolk Island and Nengone, landing Mr. and Mrs. Nihill and their baby on November 23 at the last-named island. The bishop wrote in his diary, "Mournful parting and blessing. Shall I see him again? He is very pale and weak, but not dejected." On December 11, he returned to Auckland: a very busy fortnight followed, and an ordination was held on December 18, and a confirmation of seventy-five persons in the afternoon of the same day:

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[1] The bishop was moved to this proposal by the legal difficulties which were at the time supposed to be in the way of consecrating a bishop for regions beyond the British dominions. It is hardly necessary to say that the plan was much modified.

the college was partially dismantled, and on December 31, the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn sailed in the *Commodore* for England.

"THE END OF ANOTHER YEAR OF SORROW, τὸ σὸν γενέσθω," was written in his diary. There was yet another entry, "Many kind and tender farewells. Beautiful day and sparkling breeze. Receding town and college: twelve years have made it another home." And what had not those twelve years of ungrudging labour done for New Zealand? There was no part of the colony which had not been visited by the bishop and its necessities grasped and, so far as was possible, provided for. As he wrote on one occasion about this time, "The dim and visionary idea of New Zealand, which I used to brood over in 1841 before we left England, is changed by God's blessing to an accurate knowledge of every accessible part of the coast, and of almost every inhabited place in the interior."

But for the unhappy conflicts which had set race against race, the unceasing efforts of the bishop would have achieved greater visible results; but even these apparent hindrances had called on him for a display of the highest courage, the courage which takes the weaker side when it knows it to be in the right, and which does not shrink from rebuking the powerful for misusing power. Such a testimony to righteousness and justice works often results which cannot be weighed in the scales of human judgment.

To the bishop both races were equally his charge: for either he would have made any sacrifice with equal readiness; in his own words his effort had been "to raise the character of both races by humbling them:" for the education of each, according to their several needs, he had grudged neither money nor labour. One representative of the Maori race he had been able to enrol in the list of his clergy. Had no legal hindrances withstood him, he would not have been after twelve years the sole bishop in New Zealand. In 1847 he had written to an eminent statesman in England, "if freedom be given to our Australian Synod [which did not meet until 1850] to consecrate bishops, we would soon found and endow sees in all places where they are wanted, and fill them with competent men. Of course at first the '*vectigal*' would be '*parsimonia*,' but in the next generation the lands procured by gift or legacy would yield a certain revenue." That he would have justified his words, the fact that so soon as the way was open, colleagues of unusual gifts and graces obeyed his summons, and owned his powers of attraction, is a sufficient proof.

Amid the islands of the Western Pacific he had made seven voyages, and by his courage and faith in divine protection had disarmed the suspicions of barbarous people which had been only too justly excited by the rapacity of the representatives of Christian nations. He had seen his labours developed from the apparently barren ventures of 1848 when in landing, not without peril, on strange islands, he limited his efforts to the establishing of friendly feelings on the part of the natives, until in 1852 more than fifty islands were visited in perfect safety, and twenty-five scholars were freely intrusted to the bishop in order that they might spend a summer under his roof.

The story of all these achievements had reached ears which are generally dull of hearing the tales of varied failure and success which are the records of all true work done for God: and it was not to be wondered at if on his arrival in England the bishop was cordially welcomed by all classes of persons as one who spoke that which he knew and testified that he had seen, and whose personal career had been in beautiful consistency with his principles.

The voyage, commenced on December 31, 1853, did not end until May 5, 1854; the *Commodore* met with rough weather and put into the Falkland Islands, where the bishop landed, and was welcomed by the governor and the chaplain, the Rev. Charles Bull.

When the Bishop was nearing the English coast he detailed in a letter to his staunchest of friends, the Rev. E. Coleridge, what were the objects of his visit, and how rapidly he hoped to accomplish them.

BARQUE "COMMODORE" AT SEA,
May 2nd, 1854.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

The good Providence of God has brought us within 120 miles of our native country, and we are still sailing on with a fair wind, which gives us hope of being in port before the end of the week. I therefore begin a letter for you, in case any opportunity should occur of sending it ashore by a pilot-boat in the Channel, that you may be among the first to hear of our arrival. We look forward now to seeing you again with hearts as full and feelings as fresh as if we had not been separated a week. A few more wrinkles or grey hairs here and there may betray a difference, but in other respects we shall meet, I am sure, in exactly the same state as if there had been no break in our intercourse.

Richmond will of course be our first point and pivot of future operations. My dear old father's grey head will be the magnetic centre of our system. We do not purpose to make a long stay in England. I must, if possible, leave again in the beginning of November. A colonial work such as mine, with such mixed elements, requires constant watching: it is all ups and downs; and everything, under God, depends upon catching men and circumstances at the favourable time. Volumes of writing and years of talking may be found at last to have been thrown away, unless the hand is always ready at a moment to drive a nail and fix the transient thought of some well-disposed man, who, for want of that, would at once carry off his benevolent intention to the gaping mouth of some dissenting community. Flattery will do something to fix our colonial quicksilver, as is well-known to all makers of looking-glasses, but those who do not wish to make use of that instrument must be content to hammer on. Do not then urge me to prolong my stay, but use your influence to get my work speedily done, and send me to my own element again.

The chief points are:—

1. The subdivision of the diocese, and a speedy settlement of the Sees of Wellington and Lyttelton at least.

2. The enactment of a free power in the Church of New Zealand to meet in Convocation of Clergy and Laity, and to manage its own affairs, within certain limits.

3. A definite recognition of plan for the conduct of the Melanesian mission, with the hope of a Missionary Bishop to take the work off my hands at some future time.

Minor matters: Suggestions relating to Norfolk Island and the Falklands.

Pray use your influence with our friends, now in power, to give me quick despatch: as Colonial Bishops, being unconnected with the State, are not used to ante-chambers, and only wish to get work done with as little formality as possible.

One more private request I have to make: and that is that you will allow me to keep as much in the background as possible, working rather underground, in offices, than high above in pulpits or on platforms. We have had a season of unexampled sorrow, I verily believe, a special visitation of Satan, and I should mock the sorrow of our penitents and of those who mourn with them, if I were to seem to return in triumph from a successful work.

The bishop reached England just as our troops were embarking for the Crimea. The interest of the nation was much absorbed in the impending war; but wherever the bishop went, and he went up and down the country, his sermons and speeches were eagerly listened to, startling as were some of his sayings. Everywhere he pleaded for unity: from the other side of the globe he had studied the controversies of the Mother Church, and he admitted that personal knowledge and observation proved to him that there was greater unanimity in things fundamental than he had been led to expect, and he urged his hearers day after day to cherish and increase every element of union and peace.

Fresh from work among colonists and heathens, he was able from his own experience and observation to bring forward ample arguments for the unity of the human race, and to insist on the perfect equality in God's sight of all the tribes of men: having given abundant proofs in his own career of what a bishop with no secular authority and with small stipend could effect, he could declare at the Mansion House, without being accused of empty and reckless declamation, that "if the Church of England had 500,000*l.* a year to spend on missions she could not do better with half of that sum than spend it on 500 bishops with 500*l.* a year each." He urged that the first missionary to set foot on a new country ought to be a bishop, on the fundamental principle of every tree created having seed within itself, and equally of every bishop being able to create about him a native ministry adequate to do the whole work of the country.

What could be said to refute the bishop thus fortified by experience, and who pointed to the fact that the seven churches of Asia, each with its own particular angel or bishop, were contained in a district not larger than Yorkshire? When pleading for the modest income of 500*l.* per annum as enough for the maintenance of a bishop he was again quoting his own practice. It has been already stated that the gross income of the see, 1,200*l.* per annum, he had thrown into the common fund of the diocese and had drawn only 500*l.* for himself. He had now resolved to give up the 600*l.* per annum which the Church Missionary Society had contributed towards his income, and to apply it to the support of new sees, and to draw only the other moiety which had come from public funds: but this offer had barely been accepted when he was informed that with the establishment of local government his stipend had been removed from the home estimates and had found no place in the colonial budget.

The bishop accepted the position with perfect equanimity, he congratulated himself on having refused the see of Sydney when it was vacant, as there would have been difficulty in filling up a see with no income, while for himself he said, "twelve years' residence in New Zealand had made him acquainted with the best places for finding fern-roots and the haunts of birds and fishes," and he added, "I wish to state most clearly and distinctly and in all seriousness that it is my intention to go back to my diocese and to dig or beg, if need be, for my maintenance, for I am ashamed of neither."

Everywhere he called on his hearers to give themselves or their sons, as the case might be, to the work of the Church. In Eton College chapel especially he dwelt on the possible future of many who listened to him, and on the opportunities of rendering high and noble services to the Church which were within their reach, if, "trained in this school of buoyant freedom and energetic idleness, they were to go forth as the Messengers of Salvation."

With even more earnestness did he plead that the Archbishop of Canterbury should always have at hand a body of young clergymen, "ready to go anywhere and do anything" in the spirit in which, in that very year, thousands of the best born of England's youth were volunteering for duty in the Crimea. Preaching on St. Barnabas Day in Holy Trinity church, Windsor (the church which was built largely through his exertions), he said—

> "There must be fastings and prayers, and imposition of hands of the prophets and teachers, and a commission given by the Church. And there must be a willingness in every one that is called, when he hears the question, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' to answer at once, 'Here am I, send me.' This spirit of obedience to authority has already sent our fleets and armies to every part of the world. Religion lags behind, as if unequal, in the race. The Church condemns itself, while it applauds in some of its servants a course of duty which is no more than their reasonable service, and which ought to be the common duty of all its ministers. For want of this authority to call, and of this willingness to obey, though successors of Paul and Barnabas may be called and consecrated to the work of the Holy Ghost, and endued with power to ordain elders in every place, it rests

with every Silas and every Mark to determine, each for himself, whether he will depart from them, or go with them to the work. All depends upon choice, instead of obedience. And yet who can rightly choose in such a work as this? who can rightly estimate his own fitness for the work of Christ in untried duties, and among an unknown people? Those elders of the Church who have seen and known every candidate for Holy Orders, may judge of the fitness of every one for each portion of the work. But without willingness in the young to obey, to what purpose will be the discrimination of the elders? Self-will cannot fail to bring on again such sharp contention as that which parted asunder one from the other those whom God had joined; and filled first with anger, and then, no doubt, with sorrow, even the Son of Consolation.

"There is no comfort in the thought of the heathen world, but in the hope of the restoration to the Church of the spirit of obedience. What comfort, I would ask, would there have been to any one who had a son or brother in New Zealand, in the time of the war, if he had been told that it had been left to the free choice of every British soldier and sailor whether he would go out to his rescue? And in what one respect, I would ask, are the men of our army and navy more bound to foreign service than the soldiers of the Cross?"

But a few weeks after these words were uttered the invitation was given by the bishop to one who accepted it as a call, and from the date of that auspicious event the bishop felt that a great part of the burden of the Melanesian work was taken from him. It was in August, 1854, that Mr. Patteson dedicated himself, and all that he had, to the work of the Church in the Pacific. In the same week in which this pledge of personal service was given, the bishop put forth his modest appeal for material aid in the following letter to his firm friend the Rev. E. Coleridge:—

EXETER, *August 14th*, 1854.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

If I am always troubling you, I must plead as my excuse that you have taught me, by the long experience of your unwearied friendship, to apply to you for assistance in all the wants and difficulties of my diocese. And I appeal to you with the greater confidence, because I know that you are well acquainted with the general character of the new work which God has opened to us in the western islands of the Pacific Ocean. Much has been done for New Zealand, and now I am happy to say that the seed is bearing fruit, and that the English and native congregations are both able and willing to do much for themselves. But Melanesia is a field entirely new; comprising an unknown number of populous islands, known on the maps by the names of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, Banks's Islands, Santa Cruz, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, New Ireland, &c., and extending as far as the great island of New Guinea. I speak of this as the boundary of our mission field, because I hope that the Bishopric of Borneo will soon stretch out its arms to the eastward, while we are pushing northward and westward, till the two branches of our work meet, by God's blessing, at their common centre in the island of New Guinea.

You are already aware that it has pleased God to enable me to make seven voyages through the southern part of Melanesia, from 10° to 24° of south latitude, and to visit about fifty islands, in about half of which we have held intercourse more or less with the native people, and prepared the way for future undertakings. From ten of these islands we have received scholars into our central school, to the number of forty, speaking ten different languages. It will not be, as in New Zealand, where the Testament printed in the native language at the extreme north was carried by native teachers a thousand miles to the furthest villages in the Southern Island, and was there read in places unvisited by an English missionary. We on the contrary must look forward to a long and persevering effort, before we can hope that much ground will be gained under circumstances of such peculiar difficulty.

The object of my present letter is to engage your cooperation in a plan for giving permanence to the work which has been thus begun. You will agree with me that it would be worse than useless to enter upon such an undertaking in a desultory manner. It has required seven voyages to give me even a small insight into the complicated conditions of the problem which has to be worked out. No single life could be depended upon as sufficient to bring this plan to maturity, and unless due care be taken to supply a succession of agents well qualified and trained for duties of an unusual kind, it would be in danger at any moment of falling to the ground. At present the conduct of the work rests mainly upon the Bishop of Newcastle and myself, who were appointed Missionary Bishops by the Australasian Board at its meeting at Sydney, in 1850.

If the organization of the New Zealand Church had been a little more advanced towards completion, I should gladly have availed myself of the consent already obtained to the appointment of the Venerable Archdeacon Abraham to succeed me in the see of Auckland, the archdeaconries of Wellington, Waiapu, and Tauranga being, as it is proposed, erected into bishoprics and placed under the episcopal care of the present archdeacons W. Williams, Brown and Hadfield. Knowing the difficulties which are thought to stand in the way of the creation of missionary bishoprics, I should then have gladly undertaken the charge of Melanesia as my own diocese, retaining only such an interest in New Zealand as might connect me still with the councils of its Church, and give me a central home and resting-place among my own countrymen. But I should not be able, for some considerable time, to clear up the present responsibilities attached to the see of New Zealand, such as the Trusts of the Church Estates, and the organization of our Church system. But if the difficulties now standing in the way of the appointment of missionary bishops to act in regions beyond the limit of Her Majesty's dominions should not be removed, I should be willing, at some future time, if it please God to prolong my life and health, to resign New Zealand, and undertake the Bishopric of Melanesia, as it is clearly impossible that the work of the Church of Christ should be permanently hindered by merely technical obstructions.

My proposal to you therefore is this: to raise a fund of not less than five or more than ten thousand pounds, for the endowment of the Bishopric of Melanesia: the interest to be allowed to me so long as I discharge provisionally the duties of the office; and the principal to be held in trust by the treasurers of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, or some other competent body of trustees, till the new bishopric shall have been fully established.

I speak of the endowment of the bishopric alone; because I hope that the ministerial work in Melanesia will be conducted almost entirely by native agency. You know my theory of missionary action, that we ought to send out a bishop first, with one or two such friends as Thomas Whytehead and Charles Abraham, to assist him during his life, and succeed him after his death, and that they, with the assistance of a few schoolmasters, should devote their efforts to the work of raising up a ministry from their own native disciples. Many of the difficulties which occur in a mixed system, including English as well as native ministers, would thus, I hope, be avoided, and the native church would be supported from the first by the contributions of the people.

And now, my dear friend, I have only to desire your prayers, and those of the other kind friends, who will co-operate with you, that this great work may be guided and followed by the special grace of the Holy Spirit; for it would be vain indeed to undertake a work like this, amidst the shattered fragments of many nations, bearing in the multiplicity of their languages the signs of the curse of Babel, without the most humble yet confident reliance upon the aid of that Spirit, which, on the day of Pentecost, began to be poured out upon all flesh. It is indeed a great and glorious work, appalling in its vastness, and yet sustained by the fulness of the promise, that the prayers of the Son of God will never fail till the Father has given to Him, "the heathen for his inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession."

Believe me to be,
Your most faithful and affectionate Friend,
G. A. New Zealand.

The appeal was more than successful: and 10,000*l.* were raised for the See of Melanesia in the course of a few weeks. Among other tokens of sympathy, it was determined to furnish the mission with a new vessel to be called the *Southern Cross.*

On St. Peter's Day, the annual commemoration of St.

Augustine's College at Canterbury claimed the bishop's presence; and in a speech which was full of the words or the spirit of Holy Scripture, he set forth the duties of those who were called to the missionary life. To a society of young men, generally of humble origin, pledged by their position to simplicity of life, if not to voluntary poverty, he uttered these comforting words:—

"A prophet's office is not in the courts of kings, or in rich men's houses, where men wear soft clothing and fare sumptuously every day. John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, yet Herod from the midst of his palace heard the fame of his preaching in the wilderness, and respected his character and listened to his reproof. His great prototype, Elijah the Tishbite, put on no courtly garb to wait upon Ahab, but bound his hairy mantle about his loins with his leathern girdle, and went down to him to Samaria to preach to him of the judgments of God. His successor Elisha, called from the plough to receive the mantle of Elijah, assumed to himself no pride of office, but for ten years administered to his master's wants, till he saw him caught up into heaven, and received a double portion of his spirit. Amos was neither a prophet nor a prophet's son, but a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: yet the Lord took him as he followed the flock: and the Lord said unto him, Go, prophesy to my people Israel. Zechariah speaks of the true prophet as one who disclaims all glory of his office; and says, I am no prophet, I am an husbandman; for men taught me to keep cattle from my youth: and yet to him the wounds of Christ were revealed, with which He was wounded in the house of his friends. God chose David his servant and took him to the sheepfolds, while he was following the ewes great with young, to feed Jacob His people and Israel His inheritance. The shepherds of Bethlehem were in the field keeping watch over their flocks by night, when they were guided by the light of heaven and called by the voice of angels to be the first preachers of the new-born Saviour. The shepherd's hut, the yoke of oxen, the fisher's coat, the tattered nets, and the leaky boats, the mission of the seventy without scrip or purse, Peter and John going up to the temple without silver or gold; all these are the lessons which Scripture teaches *us*; these are the signs and badges of that order out of which Christ Jesus chose and called His apostles, evangelists, and prophets.

"We have this faith therefore in the prophet's office, that it needs no worldly aid to give it its effect: neither wealth, nor honour, nor talent, nor birth, nor station. It needs only the calling of God, and a willing heart to obey the calling. If you rest upon the real graces of the Christian character, and the real powers of the Christian ministry, without assuming any of those false and adventitious aids which hinder rather than promote the progress of the gospel, you will not fail of the prophet's reward."

The bishop was much engaged during his stay in England in facilitating the formation of a Church Constitution in New Zealand, of which more will be said in its proper place; it is sufficient here to record that he returned to New Zealand after a stay of less than a year in England, feeling that now the last obstacle was removed, and that self-government was within the reach of the Colonial Churches.

The University of Cambridge in the season of Advent heard those four famous sermons on the work of Christ in the world, which did for the cause of missions in Cambridge similar service to that which the Bampton Lectures of Archdeacon Grant had done for Oxford some ten years before. In active missionary work he thought the Church would find her true pacificator. In the crowded cities of India or China, in the plains of Africa, or among the unnumbered islands of the Pacific Ocean, he thought there might be found "outlets for the excited and sensitive spirits of the Church at home," in which men who were termed "rebels" in England might be free "to serve God and to win souls." Among the visible results of these sermons was the self-dedication of Charles Frederic Mackenzie to the work of missions, and there were many on whom the preacher's words made an indelible impression. One of his hearers desired to place his whole fortune at the bishop's disposal, but he refused to accept an offer made under impulse, however noble, and he bade the young man go and consider the cost of the sacrifice which he proposed to make, and this at a time when the offered sum would have made further pleadings unnecessary.

And how many men, young and old, have gone again and again to those sermons for guidance and solace in their work, whether at home or abroad, whether among the heathen or the colonists of the British Empire, and have found what they sought, can never be known. Everywhere the bishop urged to unity and charity, and on the subject which had distressed so many minds, and driven some noble spirits to despair of the Church of England, hampered by the civil power as she was and is, the bishop from the University pulpit declared that :—

> "Questions like those which now agitate men's minds must be tried by the balance of the sanctuary, or they must be left untried. The coarse and clumsy processes of common law cannot analyse the ethereal elements of the doctrines which link together the life that now is with that which is to come. To bring in aliens from other professions to judge on legal grounds alone of the meaning of words which can have no meaning at all but by their inward power and application to the heart, would be to deny to the Church, which will hereafter judge angels, the power to judge herself."[1]

So amid much speaking and preaching, superintending the building of the *Southern Cross*, and preparations for parting once more from fatherland and family, the year 1854 closed on the bishop and his associates.

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[1] "The work of Christ in the World." Four sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, 1854. By George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Cambridge : Macmillan & Co., 1855.

CHAPTER II.

NEW ZEALAND AND MELANESIA.

[1855—1859.]

THE sojourn in England, although it lasted much longer than the bishop either desired or intended, was of comparatively brief duration, and there was crowded into it a variety of business details which might well have been spread over a much longer period. In pulpits and on platforms, in hurried journeys throughout England, in interviews with Government officials, in preparing for resuming the Melanesian work in conjunction with Mr. Patteson on a more enduring plan and with larger and more definite objects in view, and in superintending the building and launching of the *Southern Cross*, on which the success of the mission largely depended, the bishop's time was fully occupied. He had landed in England on May 5, 1854, and he purposed to leave again as early in 1855 as the *Southern Cross* could be prepared for the voyage. On January 1 he registered her at the Custom House, "the first on the roll of the new year;" on the 5th the bishop slept on board, and on the Feast of the Epiphany the schooner was towed to Gravesend; on the 8th she "spread her sails for the first time," and on the 10th she entered Southampton Water "leaky."

The delays caused by this mishap were especially trying, not merely to the intending passengers, but to their families and friends, from whom they were about to part; but the bishop bore it with equanimity, and thus wrote to Mr. Patteson:—

LINCOLN'S INN, *Jan. 17th*, 1855.

MY DEAR COLEY,

We are still troubled with a small leakage, the cause of which they have not yet discovered. It is not large in amount, but annoying to the men. Every other preparation is in a fair way of being completed by the end of the week; but this may cause an indefinite delay. Still, as I know how painful it is to be always taking leave, I think that your plan is a wise one of coming to Southampton either Saturday or Monday. I always live on board when I am there, to conduct our evening prayers with the crew and to keep order, which in harbour is always a matter of difficulty, though my present crew have given me less trouble than any which I have had before. The cold, I warn you, is pretty severe; thermometer this morning about 40°; but I hop and hammer, and think of the Crimea, and so get on very well. In the large cabin they have a brazier, and are warmer; but there is great confusion with all the stores turned out of their places to make way for the search after the leak. If you come you shall have a share of my cabin, as Sarah will not be on board till the last day or two. It makes me quite happy to think of the quiet and Christian manner in which your father and sisters give you up to the work to which I fully believe God has called you, and of your own calm contemplation of your first parting from them. My own dear father is in the same tranquil state of mind.

Love to the Judge,
Your affectionate friend,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

But the leak refused to be discovered, and the trial increased daily; and yet the bishop could extract from it for himself and commend to others a lesson of patience.

Ely, *March* 10*th*, 1855.

My dear Coley,

I have not answered your letter of 28th February, having nothing to communicate, and not wishing to inflict upon you my own indecision. By Hector's report of last night, the leakage, after the third repair, seemed to be undiminished in quantity. As the point now stands, it is probable that we shall take our passage in a merchant ship, and leave Messrs. Wigram to send out either the *Southern Cross* or some other vessel, at their own time and cost. It is a sad derangement of all our plans, but it cannot be helped; and if it does no other good, it is useful as a lesson of patience. What I most regret is the suspense in which our good fathers are kept; but to which I do not feel it right to add the anxiety of thinking of us as sailing in an unseaworthy vessel.

All hopes of sailing early in 1855 were now at an end, and the imperfect way in which the *Southern Cross* had been built interposed many tedious delays and prevented any plans being formed: the bishop was always on the move, going frequently to Southampton to find that little or no progress had been made. In this enforced leisure, if leisure it might be called, he wrote the Preface of his *Analysis of the Bible*, of which mention has already been made. On February 5 the *Southern Cross* was relaunched; but the delay that had occurred was so serious, that the bishop was compelled to take his passage in a larger ship which would make a more rapid voyage. On March 15 there is the significant entry in his diary, "Packed up sorrowfully," and on the 22nd of the same month, "Took final leave of my dearest father. 'Heaven prosper all your undertakings' repeated constantly." On March 29 the *Southern Cross* left Southampton, and the *Duke of Portland*, with the bishop and Mr. Patteson on board, left Gravesend; the vessels reached New Zealand, the former on July 19, the latter on July 5. The Instructions given to the captain of the *Southern Cross* are so characteristic of the "skipper bishop," as he was often called, that they must find a place in these pages.

7, OLD SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN,
March 27th, 1855.

The Bishop of New Zealand, at the request of Messrs. Wigram, sends the following advice to Captain Sustins:—

CLEARING THE CHANNEL—

1. Do not attempt to make much southing till 12° or 13° W. longitude, so as to be able to weather Cape Finisterre if the wind should be S.W.

2. Sight the Madeiras for rating the chronometers, but do not get entangled with the islands.

3. Cross the Line about 23° W. longitude, about the same route as that pricked off on the bishop's general chart.

4. Round the Cape of Good Hope about 40° S. latitude, and keep on that parallel. Make a point of sighting St. Paul's Island to get the time for the run through Bass's Straits.

5. Do not attempt to near the straits at night or in thick weather. Make out, if possible, the light on Cape Otway, and from that shape a course for the Straits. The chief danger is the Crocodile Rock: you have a good chart on board.

6. After clearing the Straits, steer for the Three Kings, off the N.W. Cape of New Zealand. From abreast the island Cape Maria Van Diemen may be seen. Round the North Cape pretty close, and steer for Cape Brett; thence to the Little Barrier Island. Then to Rangitoto, looking out for the flat rock off Kawau, and the rock off Tiritiri Matanghi. Run in between Rangitoto and the North Head, as by large chart on board.

You have Charts—

1. Gulf of Hauraki,
2. Auckland Harbour.

Betts is well acquainted with this coast.

P.S.—1. The bishop's cabin must not be used, except for the barometer and chronometers; but kept perfectly clean.

2. Chronometers to be wound up and compared by Betts every morning at 8, and reported to the captain.

The bishop prays that the blessing of God may be upon the master, mate, and crew of the *Southern Cross*, and bring them safe to the end of their voyage. To this end he hopes they will meet together as often as possible on week-days and always on Sundays for reading the Bible and prayers.

G. A. New Zealand.

Possibly the trial of leaving England was more bitter now than it had been in 1841. True it is that the bishop was now returning to a work to which he was no stranger, and in which he was deeply interested; and indeed on his arrival at Auckland he wrote in his diary, "Very thankful to be once more in New Zealand;" but he was now parting for ever in this world from his father, who died in the following July, in his 81st year, and he was leaving behind him his two sons.

To them he wrote, when the pang of separation was felt in all its acuteness and freshness, a letter which is inserted only after some misgiving whether it is not too sacred to be revealed to the general reader.

"Duke of Portland," off North Foreland,
11.40 a.m., *March 30th.*

My dearest Boys,

Mamma and I could not restrain our tears as we watched you waving to us almost till you landed: but we feel that the blessing of your Heavenly Father will watch over you, and to Him and to your kind aunts and uncles we willingly resign you, though not without many a sorrowful thought, and secret longing either to take you with us or to stay in England with you. But it is better as it is, for we go away with the hope that you will come out to us, if God will, full of all religious and useful knowledge, with minds much better prepared to do faithful service to God and your fellow-creatures than if you had spent your youth in the narrow range of colonial pursuits. While we and you are sorrowing for our separation, remember, my dear boys, and let the thought sink deep into your minds, that, next to the love of God and of our Blessed Saviour, the strongest motive to diligence and good conduct must be the desire to give us the comfort and pleasure of hearing that you are increasing in wisdom and in stature, and in favour with God and man.

God bless you both, for Jesus Christ's sake.

Your very loving Father,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

P.S.—The dogs are quite well and have had a run this morning. We anchored at the Nore last night and sailed at four this morning. This will be taken on shore by the pilot who will leave us in the Downs.

On July 3 the bishop entered in his log, "At 2 A.M. came to Cape Brett, mistook it for Great Barrier; tacked into the bay, and at daylight, finding our mistake, ran out again." As the vessel approached the entrance of the harbour of Auckland, the people on shore saw by the way in which the ship was handled that there was no novice at the helm, and it was on this occasion that a sailor said, "It was enough to make a man a Christian to see the bishop handle a vessel." An absence of eighteen months provided the bishop with many arrears of work, and he at once addressed himself to his duties with his accustomed vigour. Three days only had elapsed before he entered in his diary, "Began work at S. Stephen's School with Rev. Rota Waitoa and Levi Te Ahu." He found time to write the following letter to his elder son: no date is given, but it was evidently written very soon after his landing.

ST. STEPHEN'S SCHOOL, TAURARUA, 1855.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

You will be glad to hear that we arrived here on Thursday, the 5th of July, after a very pleasant and rapid passage. . . . On the 3rd May we crossed the tropic of

Capricorn, only thirty-one days from the Lizard. On the 11th May passed close by Tristan d'Acunha, but the wind was too strong for us to attempt to land. On the 15th May we recrossed the meridian of Greenwich in 37° South, and thought often of your probable employments; as our time was then again the same as yours. On the 21st May we passed the Cape of Good Hope in latitude 41° South, and while you were going up to Surly on the 4th June, we were passing Kerguelin or Desolation Island, a place more worthy of the name of Surly than any spot on the banks of the Thames. After this we went to 51° South, and saw two icebergs; on the 29th June to our great joy we sighted the North Cape of New Zealand, but did not reach Auckland till the 5th July, thanking God for a most pleasant and prosperous voyage. Dear mamma was not very well on board, but she is better now. Perhaps the parting from you and Johnnie fretted her, and you will, I am sure, remember what I said to you, and what your own feelings will often suggest, that the best and most effectual way of comforting both her and me, will be to let us hear good accounts of you both at home and at school. Put away childish things, my dear boy; you have now sealed your Baptismal promise in Confirmation, and have received, I trust, a double measure of the Spirit of God; you have partaken of the strengthening and refreshing food of the Lord's Supper; here are three talents already granted to you; and you are solemnly pledged to employ them to the glory of God and the good of your fellow-creatures. Even neglect of these gifts is itself a sin, like that of the man who hid his talent in the ground. To leave undone the things which you ought to have done, is no less a sin than to do the things which you ought not. Our prayers are offered up continually for you from the opposite side of the world, that your Heavenly Father would more than supply to your heart the influences of the parents from whom you are separated. May your prayers go up with ours, our morning prayers with your evening, and our evening with your morning prayers; and meet together through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour before the mercy-seat.

Your loving and hopeful Father,
G. A. New Zealand.

A letter written about the same time by Archdeacon Abraham to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins gives a good and independent account of the position of matters on the bishop's return:—

St. John's College, Auckland, N.Z.,
July 24th, 1855.

My dear Hawkins,

I don't suppose that the bishop in his hurry of business will have time to write to you and announce his arrival here, which I am thankful to say took place, after a very prosperous voyage of ninety-eight days, on the 5th of July. We were all taken by surprise, not having heard a word from England of his intention to come by the *Duke of Portland*. The first intimation that he was on board the English vessel was the fact that a strange vessel had threaded all the intricacies of the harbour, and rounded the North Head, before the gun fired for the pilot. There was not a breath of wind either, so that people began to say, "There must be some one on board that knows what he's about, and all the tides and currents of the harbour; and who so likely as the bishop?" Sure enough in half an hour more the Custom House officer came to say the bishop was on board, and that the *Southern Cross* was on her way following him. I confess that we were very thankful to think he had not come out in his own schooner, with all the wear and tear and watching cares that that would have entailed; whereas in the *Duke of Portland* he had all the time for rest, and quiet thought; and Mrs. Selwyn had a quicker and easier passage. . . . The bishop looked dreadfully worn however on his arrival, and every one was painfully struck with his appearance; but I soon divined the true cause, which was that he had been up for two or three nights, piloting the ship down the coast, through all the islets. He soon recovered his good looks, and certainly does seem all the better for English air, and the bracing of body and mind that the last year and a half have given him.

We are most thankful to have such a valuable addition to our body as C. Patteson. He will be a great blessing to the Melanesian Mission, and specially to the bishop. The *Southern Cross* arrived on the 19th, having had an excellent passage, and is pronounced a good vessel by the captain and all hands. . . . .

The bishop is very busy at present preparing another native for ordination, Levi by name. He is a man of superior abilities to Rota, but not so well trained or taught. He belongs to a Taranaki (New Plymouth) tribe, and will be sent there after his ordination in September. And a most important work will it be, for at this moment the natives there are fighting, and the English may get involved, and 300 soldiers are going down there to-morrow; but if the C.M.S. had sent a missionary there it might have been stopped. There has never been any clergyman of our Church there, except Mr. Govett of Taranaki, and he belongs specially to the English population. The natives have been long begging for a missionary, and have felt keenly their neglected position. Probably the bishop will go with the soldiers to try and prevent further mischief. Levi, one of their own people, is a chief, and will probably have great influence with them.

The mention of Taranaki (or New Plymouth) introduces us to a place and to a subject which have very much to do with the subsequent life of the bishop. A dispute had arisen between two natives, Katatore and Arama Karaka, (= Adam Clarke), about land: the two parties had begun firing at each other within five miles of the town of New Plymouth, to the great alarm of the English settlers, who had asked that soldiers might be sent down to preserve the peace. The Governor on his part feared that the presence of troops might be misunderstood by the natives, and, while determining to send a military force, he asked the bishop to go down and try to make peace, and at least to explain that the soldiers' duties would be limited to the protection of the English town, and would have no reference to the Maori quarrel. The bishop therefore, accompanied by Archdeacon Abraham and Rota Waitoa, representing the three orders of the ministry, started on foot through a country very difficult to travel over, and after a fortnight of hard work reached the Waitara, the scene and subject of the contest, on August 14. William King, a name which occupies a prominent place in the story of subsequent wars, had joined Katatore, because the enemy had come nearer to his land than was safe, but not from any cordial sympathy with Katatore's cause. When the bishop reached King's Pa, he found no war-camp nor any signs of hostility to the English, the whole tribe having gone out to tow off an English schooner which had got aground on the sand bar.

On August 15 the conference began, and how it was conducted was thus recorded by Archdeacon Abraham:—

> "Next morning, before we were up and out of our *bags* (not *beds*), two natives put their heads in at the tent-door, and *tena koe'd* the bishop. One was a fine old gentleman, with a kindly face and no guile in it. The other younger, but perhaps sixty years of age, with a broad, open, handsome face, somewhat bloated, perhaps, yet not at all unpleasant. They came in, and sat talking for an hour, while we shaved and dressed and ate our breakfast with them. When they went away, I asked who they were, and the bishop said the first was an old chief of the tribe he had known long ago at Nelson, and the younger of the two was the notorious and much-abused William King, the man who first saved the Government under Sir George Grey in 1844, by driving old Rangihaeata out of the country; and then took a decided line against the Governor, who tried to prevent his coming up here to Taranaki, to settle in the inheritance of his forefathers, whence he had been driven by the Waikatos twenty-five years ago; but was now allowed to return in peace to the unoccupied land, when Sir George Grey threatened to prevent his returning, by planting guns at his canoes. He still persevered, and some of his people brandished their tomahawks about the Governor's head; and come they did, in spite of the threats and guns, and most determined are they to retain their lands, and prevent the English getting hold of any; *hinc illæ lacrymæ*. Hence all this disturbance we have come to try and settle. Rawiri and his party wanted to sell the disputed land to the English; Katatore shot him down in cool blood, unarmed. . . . . .

"We reached Katatore's Pa, and found one hundred men or so within; all were seated on the ground to hear what the bishop had to say. After a few minutes a man, dressed like a *would-be* flash criminal at Newgate, came up to us. It was Katatore; a little, cunning-looking, ill-favoured rascal as I ever saw, dressed in a black paletot, moleskin trousers, boots, and a little hat on the top of an immense bush of hair. He then told us the story of the murder. When he came to it, the bishop said, 'So, then, you killed an unarmed man in cold blood for the matter of land?' 'Yes.' 'Then you repeated the act of Cain towards Abel, and in the sight of God and man you are a murderer.'

"The man started up in great wrath, but the bishop calmly repeated it. The man started on his feet and left the ring of people, muttering and growling; but his own people did not seem disposed to support him on that point, nor to question the bishop's judgment or right to express that judgment. The bold plainness of speech the bishop used towards the murderer, and the abuse that the newspaper writers have lavished on him for holding any intercourse at all with the murderer, &c. &c., seem together exactly to make up the duties required of a Christian minister in the Collect for St. John Baptist's Day:—that he should 'boldly rebuke vice, constantly speak the truth, and patiently suffer for the truth's sake.' It has been the bishop's practice for the last thirteen years, during which he has been so attacked by the same person in all the settlements, to 'answer him never a word.'"

Even so during the war it fell to the bishop's lot to officiate at St. Paul's church on the Sunday on which the story of Naboth's vineyard was read as the first lesson. Several of the members and friends of the Ministry of the day, with whom the bishop happened to be in political antagonism in consequence of that unhappy war, were in the church. The bishop preached a written sermon on "Ahab," which certainly caused the ears of many of those who heard it to tingle, and which was the subject of much indignant comment afterwards. Several of the bishop's friends in consequence obtained the manuscript of the sermon, and studied it carefully, with the result that they were at a loss to know what portion of the sermon had excited such indignant comments. The fact was that the fire and energy and deep feeling displayed by the preacher had given an apparent personality to the sermon, which perhaps was not without its value.

The bishop experienced the fortune which generally befalls peacemakers: because he would espouse the side of neither he became obnoxious to both. He held service in the Pa of one tribe, and was accosted by the other on the following day with the jeering counsel, "Go and have service with your bloodshedding children." Meanwhile the soldiers had come down by sea, 200 men of Her Majesty's 58th regiment, some sappers, three guns, and artillery to serve them: the natives were excited, and charged the bishop with deceiving them in saying that the soldiers would take no part in their quarrel: the bishop assured them of his frankness and openness with them, and just then a messenger arrived with letters from Colonel Wynyard to W. King, assuring him that he only wished to keep peace between the natives and the English. On August 31 things settled down after a speech of the bishop's, giving good advice to both sides. Archdeacon Abraham writes:—

> "It was very striking to see the men's delight when he wound up his speech with their old song:
>
> 'Ka tangi te riroriro,
> Kei te ahi au tamariki!'
>
> the Maori equivalent for 'Lady bird, lady bird, fly away home," &c. All the good advice and sober counsel given before seemed to tell but little; but this quotation set the whole party on the alert, and it was repeated and bandied from one to another, well illustrating the well-known saying, 'Give me the writing of your ballads, and I don't care who makes the laws.'"

During this visit the bishop was constantly holding services with natives and colonists, and persuading the latter to provide themselves with churches. At length the same journal records :

> "*Sept. 3rd to 8th.*—Waiting idly for the steamer. Our Church work being done, and the native quarrel having apparently subsided for the present, the bishop, who must always be doing something, carried all his party on to the *road*, which was very dangerous and full of great holes ; and having in vain tried to persuade the people to mend them, we all 'turned to,' and in a day and a half had made it passable : a broad hint to them in every sense 'to mend their ways.' The Church was fully represented in this way-wardenship, there being a bishop, a priest, and a deacon, and two lay Maoris and four lay boys. It caused much amusement to the passers-by, but I am afraid little shame."

On September 11 the bishop reached Auckland: he had been so misrepresented and reviled by local newspapers, which it would have been an indignity to notice, that, for the information of his own people and flock in New Plymouth, he wrote a Pastoral Letter, explaining his course and the view which he had taken of the native quarrel and the land disputes existing between the natives with one another and with the English.

From this pastoral, written in a tone of judicial calmness, it is necessary to extract passages of considerable length, as they furnish the key to the bishop's conduct throughout the later wars, in which he was often at variance with the civil authorities, and was bitterly misrepresented by the press.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

MY CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,

It has not been my custom to address you on any merely secular or political subject, and my present letter will not, I hope, appear to be any deviation from this general rule.

But on the contrary, when I have reason to believe that some members of our Church have been offended by reports which they have heard of my opinions or my conduct, I feel it to be, I may say, a religious duty to place in your hands my own explanation; because, while on the one hand I cannot consent to be altogether guided by public opinion, neither on the other hand would I wish to appear to disregard or to defy it.

The subject of my present letter is the question which has so long disturbed the minds of the English and Native inhabitants of this district; and in which two distinct elements are so mixed up as to seem at present incapable of separation, even in the minds of those who would otherwise be best able to judge of the merits of the case. It will be my object to draw a clear line of distinction between two things so widely different as a murder which all Christian men will concur in condemning, and a land question, upon which much diversity of opinion may be expected to exist.

I.—On the subject of the murder I have little to say, because it would seem to be quite unnecessary for a Christian bishop to spend many words in telling the members of his flock, that he disapproves of a crime, which he has already declared, in the presence of the murderer himself, to be a repetition of the sin of Cain.[1] But I must be guided entirely by my own conscience, as a minister of the Gospel, in the intercourse which I feel it to be my duty to hold with those by whom this or any other crime has been committed. I shall not dare to cast off any one to whom I believe that God still holds out the hope of forgiveness. There is no crime so heinous as to warrant a clergyman in contradicting the principle declared by our Lord and Master, "that He came not to call the righteous, but *sinners* to repentance."

On this first point then you will clearly understand my position; that though I abhor the murder, yet I hold it to be my duty to visit and exhort the murderers; as a humble follower of Him, whose title ever has been, and ever will be to the world's end, "THE FRIEND OF SINNERS."

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[1] The *Taranaki Herald*, August 22nd, 1855, had printed :—"Bishop Selwyn is again lending his blighting influence to New Zealand, has again taken the murderer by the hand, as he did the perpetrators of the Wairau massacre—a murderer who is without the excuse of those at Wairau : viz. that of being first fired upon. . . . It is reserved for the Bishop of New Zealand to use his undoubted influence to shield notorious criminals from justice, when those criminals appeal to his sympathies through the medium of a dark skin."

II.—Separating then the murder from the Land question with which it has become so unhappily confused, I come to the second part of my letter, on which, as I have already said, there is much room for difference of opinion. In a country where every member of the community is free to hold his own views, and to express them in any constitutional way, I hope that you will see, that if we should unfortunately differ in opinion, you have no more reason to be offended with me than I with you.

It has always been my lot to be accused of opposing the interests of my own countrymen in the settlements of the New Zealand Company, by supporting the claims of the native inhabitants. The root of all this appearance of opposition (for I deny that it was real) lay in the fact, that the Agents of the New Zealand Company, while they recognised, by partial acts of purchase, the right of the natives to the land, did not sufficiently investigate the titles, and therefore failed to extinguish them. The solution of the question was made more difficult, by the large supply of double-barrelled guns which were given to the natives in payment for the land. A transaction which was supposed to give to two or three thousand Englishmen an absolute right to dispossess seven thousand armed New Zealanders was concluded within a space of time in which no honest conveyancer would undertake to draw a marriage settlement upon an encumbered estate. This was the *wholesale* mistake, which led to all the misfortunes and disappointments of the Company's settlers. If the purchases had been conducted with more deliberation, over small blocks of land, and with the consent of all the owners, there is reason to believe that the colonists would have remained undisturbed, as the purchases of private settlers have, almost in every instance, been sustained by the testimony of the native vendors. It is against all experience to say that, either the New Zealanders are unwilling to sell land, or that, having sold it, they will not allow the purchaser to enter into possession. . . . When I find myself accused of blighting the prospects of my countrymen, I think it sufficient to point to the province of Auckland, in which I nominally reside, where every merchant and almost every settler would be ready to admit, that the province owes its present wonderful prosperity to the peaceful union of the two races. One hundred and fifty coasting vessels bring native produce into the port of Auckland. Five large rivers, navigated by innumerable canoes, bring down from the heart of the country the flour ground in more than twenty native water-mills. Fifty thousand natives draw their supplies of clothing, tobacco, and hardware from its stores, paying a large share of the indirect taxation of the country, without so much as asking for a share in its representative institutions. I am sure that it has been the constant feeling in the province of Auckland, that while the New Zealanders thus confidingly leave to our race the entire control over the revenue accruing from their industry, so much the more must it be our bounden duty to legislate wisely and equitably for them. I am not aware that a single syllable has ever been said in that province about taking possession of land which the native owners were not disposed to sell. . . .

It is strange indeed, that your advisers in the local newspapers, who dwell so much upon the sixth commandment, should forget altogether that the same law has also said, THOU SHALT NOT COVET. They may disguise it to their own consciences, but it is my duty as a minister of the law and of the Gospel to lift up my voice against the publication of opinions, which would lead on to the sin of murder as the direct consequence of the sin of covetousness. I offer to my countrymen my best assistance and influence with the native people in all their just and lawful desires, but I have no fellowship with covetousness, because Ahab found it to be but the first step to blood-guiltiness. Surely there is enough of blood already crying out of the ground against the Christian nations of Europe, —against Spain, and France, and England—to make us tremble for the issue of our own connexion with the New Zealanders. I can not remain silent, while opinions are being expressed and plans proposed which, if you prove to be the stronger, would destroy the New Zealanders, or if you be found the weaker, would destroy yourselves.

My advice to the natives in all parts of New Zealand has always been, to sell all the land which they are not able to occupy or cultivate. I had two reasons for this: first, to avoid continual jealousies between the races; and secondly, to bring the native population within narrower limits, in order that religion, law, education, and civilization might be brought to bear more effectually upon them. It is strange to me to find myself accused of joining in a "conspiracy" to hinder the sale of land; when, not my opinion only, but my practical advice in all parts of New Zealand, has been directly the contrary. All I ask for is an entire abstinence from all threats and a *bonâ fide* transaction with all classes of real owners after careful investigation of titles. . . . As for the charges against William King of treachery and duplicity, before such offensive charges are published, it would be well to remember the first principle of our English law,—that every man is held to be innocent, till he has been proved to be guilty. In this case, the same persons, upon mere suspicion, usurp the functions of accuser, jury, and judge. I have no hesitation in recording my own deliberate conviction that William King has no ill-will whatever against any of our countrymen, not even against those who have publicly expressed their desire to take away his land. Let those who complain of his duplicity cease to force him into a position of hostility by their suspicions and their threats. For it ought to be remembered, though such things are readily forgotten when the danger is passed, that William King and his party are the very men whom Mr. Hursthouse describes in p. 50, as "those who had assisted the Governor in quelling Rauparaha, and now longed to rejoin the head-quarters of their tribe, and return to their old homes on the banks of the Waitara." . . . .

There are not many persons who have been able, as I have, to visit all the chief sections of the Ngatiawa tribe, scattered as they are over Port Nicholson, Waikanae, Nelson, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and the Chatham Islands. In all these places there is the same desire (which I think no Taranaki settler can wonder at or condemn), to return to their old homes in this lovely and fertile country. When I first visited New Plymouth, in October, 1842, I was accompanied by nearly forty men of the tribe, who came avowedly to ascertain whether the state of the country would allow of their return. Every man of this party knew the exact spot which had belonged to his forefathers. The migration to the remote Chatham Island had neither caused Taranaki to be forgotten, nor the recollection of their local claims to be lost. I ascertained in the Chatham Island to what part of this country they laid claim, and I have just passed through their settlements to the south of the White Cliffs, and found them re-established in their own homes. The head teacher of the tribe, and one of the first converts to Christianity among them, is about to be admitted to Holy Orders, which led me to ask, whether he had a claim to any land which might be available for his maintenance. I was immediately informed of the exact spot, and of the grounds of his title. From these and similar facts I draw the conclusion, that every member of the Ngatiawa tribe knows his own land in the Taranaki district, and desires to return to it.

In many respects this return of the Ngatiawa may be beneficial to the settlement. First, by the vast impulse which will be given to the industry of the Province by men who in every one of their scattered locations, and especially in the Chatham Islands, under their late chief, William Pitt Pomare, have shown themselves the steady friends of the English people, and have made the most rapid progress in agriculture and trade. But still more beneficial to the Province will be the return of all the absentee proprietors, if it should have the effect, as I hope it may, of facilitating the sale of their surplus lands. . . . .

No menaces of military interference are likely to have any effect upon men who from their childhood have been accustomed to regard it as a point of honour to shed their last drop of blood for the inheritance of their tribe. And yet these very men, and others of their race, have already sold 30,000 acres in this settlement for ten-pence an acre—a million of acres at Ahuriri for a penny three farthings; —the whole of the first Auckland territory for about fourpence;—and the whole Middle Island, south of Kaikonra, for a mite per acre. Nothing is more easy than to extinguish the native title; nothing will be more difficult than to extinguish a native war. . . . .

When I came here, at considerable inconvenience to myself, to advocate these principles, and to recommend all those natives, who might be disposed to listen to my advice to promote good-will and concord with the English settlers by the willing surrender of their surplus lands, especially of those portions, the title to which is disputed among themselves; and after having constantly and publicly spoken on the same subject on my route at Whaingaroa, Aotea, Kawhia, and elsewhere (in all of which places the same land question is under debate among the natives), I confess that I was astonished to find myself the object, not only of suspicion, but of open insult and attack, in the very settlement which I came to serve, and from those whose office ought to restrain them from party prejudice and personal invective. I never answer such attacks in the public newspapers, because I do not recognise any such tribunal; nor do I enter into any controversy with men bearing the title of Ministers of religion; because you will agree with me in thinking that nothing would be more discreditable to religion than such profane wranglings among men professing to administer the Gospel of Peace. . . . .

I find myself charged with having shielded a murderer from justice.

I have already told you that I have never spoken of the murder of Rawiri, but to condemn it in the strongest language, even in the presence of the murderer.

You well know that I was in England when the murder took place, in August, 1854. One person, I know, from his letter to Katatore, did shield the murderer on the day of Rawiri's funeral, not indeed from justice, but from a tumultuary exercise of "Lynch Law," which might have set the whole country in a blaze; and I am happy to be able to express my entire approval of that judicious exercise of missionary influence. . . . .

To sum up this letter, which has grown to its present length by the repetition of attacks in the local newspaper, I beg you to accept this condensed statement of my opinions.

1. I am quite ready to advise my native friends to sell their surplus lands, on the most reasonable terms, or even to give them to the Government for nothing: but this advice will be of no avail, until the question is entirely devoid of party feeling, and disconnected altogether from such irritating subjects as the murder of Rawiri.

2. I desire to see each native land owner secured by a

Crown grant for his own individual property; and registered as a voter, on the same qualification as an Englishman.

3. When the native land owners are thus registered and represented, with full recognition of equal rights and privileges, I will not be backward in explaining to them that they are liable to all taxes, penalties, and other public burdens, in common with all other classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

4. But on the other hand, I shall resist, by all lawful means, every attempt to carry out any other interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi than that in which it was explained to the natives by Governor Hobson, and understood and accepted by them.

5. I hold it to be an act unworthy of Englishmen to avail ourselves of any native custom, either of conquest or of slavery, to disfranchise any class of native proprietors; especially when experience has proved, that, where no party questions are raised, the native title can be extinguished, and all classes of claimants satisfied, for a few half-pence per acre.

6. Believing myself to be better able than most other persons to judge of the unprotected position of the outlying settlers in the scattered and especially in the pastoral districts of New Zealand, I shall feel it to be my duty to remind the inhabitants of the towns, even at the loss of my own influence and popularity with them, that the principles which I advocate, and the line of conduct which I pursue, are not influenced by any ill-will towards them, or even by an indifference to their interests; but by a wide, I may say, a general knowledge of New Zealand, and of all classes of its inhabitants, and by the conviction that the lives and property of our fellow-settlers, scattered as they now are over at least 15,000 square miles of broken country, can only be preserved by the greatest forbearance, and the strictest justice in our dealings with the native people.

May God so prosper all the Councils of the Colony, and so guide all private opinions, that "peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us, upon the best and surest foundation," that of the union of the two races; in the terms of the Deed of Grant for the site of the College at Porirua, dictated by the native donors, "that they may grow up together as one people, upon the same common principle of faith in JESUS CHRIST, and obedience to the QUEEN."

I remain, my dear Friends and Brethren,
In evil report and good report,
Your faithful and affectionate Friend and Pastor,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

On 23rd September of this year Levi Te Ahu was ordained deacon, the second of the Maori race to be advanced to the dignity of the sacred ministry. Four days later the bishop sailed in the new *Southern Cross* on a long Visitation tour to the Chatham Islands and the Southern Settlements, not returning to Auckland until March 31st of the following year. On December 17th he received, on arriving at Wellington, a letter from Professor Selwyn containing the news of his father's decease on July 25th. In his diary there appears the following entry against July 30th :—

"My dear father buried at the church on Rusthall Common, at 11.15 A.M., 10.55 P.M. N.Z. time. '*ἤρεμα τὸν τριπόθατον ἐθήκαμες ἒν χθονὶ κοιλᾷ.*' 'Faxit Deus ut sit corpori quies, animæ felicitas et in die ultimo læta resurrectio.' William's letter of this date received 17 December, 1855."

A letter from Archdeacon Abraham, written on April 1st, 1856, bears testimony to the precision with which the bishop made and fulfilled his engagements in journeys where he was almost wholly dependent on himself for means of locomotion; it also tells, what the bishop would never have told, the hardships and difficulties which befell him.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AUCKLAND,
April 1st, 1856.

I went yesterday to meet the bishop with a horse twenty miles from here, according to appointment. To show his wonderful punctuality to appointments of this kind, he laid out his plans six months ago for a journey of 1,000 miles, and fixed to be here on the 31st of March. Accordingly last week he sent a letter to say that he would be at a place twenty miles from here on that day at 1 o'clock ;

and as my watch pointed to the hour, I looked up and saw him emerge from a bush, looking well, wiry, and bushy. He had walked 550 miles and ridden 450 in the course of the last three months, having *examined* and *confirmed* 1,500 people. He was alone nearly all the way, and had great difficulty in getting the horses he did, so engaged are the people in their cultivations, &c., that they would not spare time to go with him. It is rather sad to think of the contrast between his first journey fourteen years ago with twenty-nine followers and this solitary one. However, perhaps it shows a more settled state of things in the country ; and he was better pleased with their habits than he expected to be ; nor is the diminution of numbers so great. In one district he found almost exactly the same numbers as were there ten years ago. We had heard that drinking was very much on the increase, but he did not find it so. He gave an amusing account of the way in which he shamed them sometimes into giving him a horse to ride. He would go to a village and ask for a horse and guide. "There were none," was the answer. He would point to a herd of thirty or forty not far off,—no one knew to whom they belonged. He then would put down his pack and begin to throw out the most useless articles, and pack it up again, and begin to strap it on. "What are you about ?" "Lightening my burden for a walk." This touched some *woman's* heart, who would either herself fetch, or urge her husband to get a horse. One morning at dawn, as he was just starting on his lonely march, he found a woman standing with a horse ready for him. I don't know that they are more selfish than other people. I suppose in England a bishop or clergyman might find it equally difficult to get any one to lend him a horse and go with him, unless he were well paid. They are becoming more civilized, and occupied in ordinary work. . . . The last month's journey was the worst, perhaps, as he was obliged to leave his blanket behind to lighten his shoulders, and had to sleep under his tent with nothing but a thin maude these cold autumnal nights.

In this letter Archeacon Abraham touches on a prickly question which perplexes all missionaries to the heathen, viz. the baptism of polygamists. The custom of the diocese of New Zealand evidently did not command the archdeacon's entire assent. Twenty years later Bishop Selwyn was consulted on the subject, a question having been sent home for solution from the West Coast of Africa, and he wrote the following letter:—

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Oct. 20th*, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ———,

The subject of your letter is a vexed question. You will find it argued by Archbishop Whately with his usual confidence and force, on the side of the opinion expressed in your letter.

In New Zealand our practice was to require a man to confine himself to one wife, with a view to baptism. Marriages in that country among the heathen were nothing more than concubinage, often without consent of the woman. The men far exceeded the women in number; so that the practice of polygamy by the privileged class of chiefs led to habitual sin in the lower orders, who could not obtain wives.

I am not prepared to exalt our view of the question into a Divine Law, on the ground of the words of our Lord or St. Paul, but in New Zealand I have always felt it to be a rule of very high moral expediency.

Different countries, I suppose, must be judged by their own special circumstances; and therefore, dogmatical or logical conclusions by Archbishop Whately or others, on either side, may very often be wide of the mark. The science of *ἀσκομετρία* taught us by our blessed Lord would favour some flexibility of practice in the early days of a mission, without compromise of the permanent principles of Gospel Truth.

Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

While one brother had been roughing it on a New Zealand Visitation, another had been elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity, a position which he filled until his death. The contest lay between Mr. W. Selwyn and Professor Harold Browne, the present Bishop of Winchester, and hence the allusion, in the bishop's letter of congratulation, to the battle of Hastings, a humorous prelude to graver thoughts.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, N.Z., *April 2nd*, 1856.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

Many thanks for the account of the battle of Hastings, which interested all our party, including Abraham and Patteson, very much. May the Divine blessing guide your pen and your tongue in the composition and delivery of your lectures, that the comments of the Margaret Professor may be a worthy setting of the pearl of great price.

The University of Cambridge certainly appeared to be in a hopeful and teeming state. Professor Blunt, under God's blessing, has not laboured in vain. There appeared to be a practical earnestness and sound Church principle, such as I do not remember in former days. However the critics of my evening sermon may object to the expression "good old Church of England party," I am deeply convinced that it is the only standard which can "be the stability of our times or make our Church a praise upon earth," and I marvel that many who talk so much of the sacred deposit of the Reformation and of the truths sealed by the blood of the martyrs are so ready to compromise or fritter away the fundamental truths for which the Reformers were ever ready to die. I have just read a letter from Mr. Wilson, vicar of Islington, to the *Record*, on the state of the Church in Geneva, which ought to be a warning to those who reject what I meant by good old Church of England party—that is, a standard of doctrine and of worship, such as that which is contained in our Book of Common Prayer.

Pray let me have full particulars of your course of lectures, and encourage William to copy for me anything which you think I should like to see. The idea of a conference between three professors, so generally united in feeling, as Jeremie, Browne, and yourself, charmed me. There is hope, indeed, if this be carried out, that the University will be the seed-plot of the Ministry, and that the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders will not be as it was in our days, the mere sitting out a reading of Pearson to which nobody attended.

May God bless and direct you, and may our Lord loosen your tongue and open your hearers' ears.

The time had now come when the Melanesian Mission demanded more perfect organisation and more uninterrupted care than had previously been possible. All who were concerned in it grudged the labour and time spent in the voyage to and from the islands in autumn and spring, to say nothing of the break in the course of instruction and the chilling of any good impressions when the boys were sent back to live among their heathen friends. The idea of finding a centre in a warmer latitude, and there establishing a school where the scholars could be kept through the whole year in a congenial climate, had long been present to the bishop's mind; in the end of 1853 he had gone with the then Governor, Sir George Grey, in H.M. colonial brig *Victoria*, and had inspected Norfolk Island, which appeared itself to both governor and bishop to be a most suitable centre. Sir George Grey had written to the Home Government recommending that some of the buildings now no longer used as a prison, and a portion of the land, should be granted to the bishop, who had come to England thinking that a request so urged and supported, and withal so reasonable in itself, would not be unsuccessful. About this time, however, the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* had outgrown the island of Pitcairn, and a number of well-meaning people in England had taken up their case with the enthusiasm which is always lavished on the heroes of a romantic story and of blemished escutcheons, but which prosaic and honest folk have to go without. These people, with more of kindliness than wisdom, who had applied for the removal of the Pitcairn community to Norfolk Island, were horrified at the idea of the interesting descendants of mutineers living on the same island with Mr. Patteson and his Melanesian scholars: the primitive and patriarchal system under which they had existed at Pitcairn seemed to be incompatible with such neighbours: but the good philanthropists did not take into account the fact that Norfolk Island, being "in the midst of the Australian colonies and in the track of the ships of all the great maritime nations," could not be as Pitcairn had been in its isolated position, "a happy valley," into which the temptations which intercourse with the world brings in its train could not enter.

The bishop, with far deeper knowledge of human nature, urged that in the face of such temptations, to which they were unaccustomed, they would need some more active salt to save them from corruption; that in the Mission Schools, and in doing sailor's and missionary's duties on board the *Southern Cross*, the young men of the community would find a sphere of spiritual work and usefulness, in which some might even be trained for the sacred ministry; at the same time the Mission Station would contribute good service to the State, and furnish a body of interpreters, "which would save the captains of our men-of-war from the humiliating necessity of taking evidence in the gravest questions from the natives through the interpretation of white men living in the most dissolute manner, and wholly unworthy of credit."

On May 27, 1856, the *Southern Cross* dropped her anchor off Norfolk Island. The bishop wrote in his log: "Took a boat and rowed in to the Wharf at the Cascades: saw no one: walked into the store and took possession, giving three cheers for Sir Thomas Acland" (who had opposed the occupation of any part of the island by the bishop). "Met a man who told us that the Pitcairners had not come, and there were only twelve persons on the island. Returned on board."

The next day the *Southern Cross* sailed for Sydney, in order that the bishop might appeal to Sir W. Denison, the Governor of New South Wales. Always friendly to the work of the Mission, he was, however, on this occasion obdurate, and bent on carrying out his instructions, which were to screen the Pitcairn community in their new home from all contact with the outer world. A fortnight was spent in this unprofitable work of trying to influence the

Governor, but the only visible result of that sojourn of fourteen days in Sydney Harbour is the following letter, which the bishop wrote to his son in England :—

SYDNEY, "SOUTHERN CROSS," AT ANCHOR,
June 12th, 1856.

MY VERY DEAR JOHNNIE,

Here we are, mamma and I, sitting quietly in our cabin, with a most beautiful sunny sky overhead, though it is now the middle of winter, in a pretty cove of this beautiful harbour; and the first use which I make of the time of quiet is to write a letter to you and Willy, to be ready for a ship which is soon to sail for England. We intend to stay here about a week or ten days, and then to sail for Norfolk Island to visit the Pitcairners, whom we did not find there when we touched on our way from New Zealand; and then to sail away for the Solomon Islands, to see our old scholar Didimang, and to bring away some new ones; then to beat up against the trade-wind for a month or six weeks, calling at every island, fifty in number, in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia groups. When we return, if it please God, to Auckland, we will send you a full account of all our proceedings, that you may look out the places on the map, and follow us in your thoughts and your prayers. . . .

We have had excellent accounts of you both from many friends, which have given us great pleasure. We hope soon to hear of your being in the fourth form, and in Mr. Coleridge's house, where I hope you will not earn many lickings by impudence learned as "Cock" of Mr. Hawtrey's house. Try to be respectful and obedient to the master whose fag you are, and to all the upper boys; for this is one of the great advantages of a public school, "to take the nonsense out of a fellow," as one of our boys said of our college. We have been made quite happy by the last accounts, and have no doubt that we shall receive similar reports from your uncles and Mr. Coleridge.

God bless you and guide you through the temptations of youth.

Your own loving Father,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

It was probably to relieve pent-up feelings rather than with any hope of persuading people who had already made up their minds, that the bishop wrote in the following terms to Sir John Patteson:—

TAURARUA, AUCKLAND, *March 2nd*, 1857.

You know in what direction my wishes tend; viz. that Coley, when he has come to suitable age, and has developed, as I have no doubt he will, a fitness for this work, should be the first Island Bishop upon the foundation of which you and your brother Judge and Sir W. Farquhar are trustees, that Norfolk Island should be the see of the bishop, because the character of its population, the salubrity of its climate, and its insular position, make it the fittest place for that purpose, though good folks in England seem to think the contrary. There the bishop ought to have his school of candidates for Holy Orders, who might always be married men with their wives, to guard against the idea, which seems to stand in our way in England, that the island scholars will demoralize the Pitcairners. I am myself a member of the Pitcairn Island Committee, and would never on any account do anything to injure them; but I cannot believe that their purity or morality will be preserved by their being shut up in a glass case, and debarred from a practical interest in such works as ours, while they are made the pets and playthings of all the officers of every man-of-war. As I have seen a young lady's copy-book filled with a complete list of all the officers of Her Majesty's ship *Juno*, and rings on her fingers presented by some of the same officers, though I hope and believe that nothing has yet occurred to impair the simplicity of these island damsels, yet I can apprehend other dangers more imminent than the residence among them of your son and his black scholars. What the community will want is a high and practical tone of feeling and sense of duty,—something to energize a nature which partakes largely of tropical inertness—some higher stimulus than the wool and beef and arrowroot, with which their thoughts will speedily be absorbed.

Your affectionate and grateful Friend,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

On July 4 the bishop reached Norfolk Island again, to find the Pitcairners in full force, and very cordial in their reception of the Episcopal party. None of the islanders had ever been confirmed, and Mrs. Selwyn was left there to assist in preparing the women and girls for that holy rite, while the bishop sailed on his eighth voyage to the islands, accompanied by Mr. Patteson, to whom everything was new. The Southern Islands, which the bishop had visited in his earlier trips, were left, and the whole attention was concentrated on the virgin field offered by the more northern groups. In this voyage the bishop sailed further to the North than in any previous expedition: landings were effected on sixty islands, and thirty-three scholars were brought to New Zealand, the majority of them being natives of the Solomon group.

After eight weeks' cruising the *Southern Cross* returned to Norfolk Island on September 3rd, and the story of this third visit shall be told in the bishop's own words in the following letter to his son :—

AUCKLAND, *Sept.* 16*th*, 1856.

MY VERY DEAR BOY,

We have been delighted to receive from your uncle and aunt very good accounts of you, from which we conclude that you have prayed for Divine grace to enable you to fulfil the promises which you took upon yourself in your Confirmation, not only in the presence of your earthly parent, from whom, except for those few months, you have been so long separated, but much more in the presence of that Heavenly Father who is about your path and about your bed. I have just returned from Norfolk Island, where I held on Sunday the 7th September one of the most remarkable confirmations, I should think, in the history of the Church. The whole adult population of the Pitcairn Islanders, except three who were too feeble to attend, presented themselves to me in nine classes to be examined and confirmed. Your dear mother had carefully prepared all the women during two months that she resided on the island. The eldest of the candidates—a woman more than seventy years of age—was a daughter of John Adams, the last survivor of the mutineers of the *Bounty*. Almost all the candidates were connected in some degree of relationship with men who, if they had been captured, would have been hanged at the yardarm of a man-of-war, and who died violent deaths, the result of intoxication, jealousy, and every other evil passion. And yet the grace of God enabled John Adams to sow a seed in the hearts of the children among whom he was left alone in the year 1800, which bore this rich harvest in 1856, when eighty-five of his children, grandchildren, sons-in-law, or daughters-in-law, or foster-children, whom he had adopted, were confirmed by me with the full conviction of my own feelings that in every respect which is outwardly discernible, in moral conduct, in attendance on public worship, in temperance, soberness, chastity, in respect for the Lord's Day, and in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, the whole adult community was duly qualified for the holy Ordinance. And to make the scene more striking, the service was performed in the Convict Chapel, the very opposite of the place where you were confirmed among the signs of royalty, and honour, and chivalry, blended with the most beautiful architecture and the richest carvings. The chapel opened into the prison-yard, set round with every kind of cell for every class of criminal; in every corner heaps of rusty fetters and cast-off garments, marked with the broad arrow and numbered on the back, as if the wearer were no longer worthy of a name; and all these signs of misery and sin made more striking by the horrid silence of the solitary cells, or of the wards which the numbers showed to have been once crowded with 20, 30, or even 100 prisoners. Close by this visible type of everything that is most hateful in sin and in its consequences might be heard the song of praise, in which every voice joined; and on the 7th September eighty-five persons there knelt before the Lord's Table, to receive strength to fulfil their baptismal promise, by fighting manfully under Christ's banner against sin, the world, and the devil.

My dear boy, you have already applied to yourself the moral of all this. If such be the love of God and the power of Divine grace in training up the children of mutineers and drunkards, who but for that Grace might have been worse than the worst of those criminals who made Norfolk Island, as it was called by Judge Burton, a hell upon earth, surely God will expect even more fruit from the children of Christian parents, nurtured among many prayers of parents and sponsors, under the shadow of cathedrals, in the constant enjoyment of all the means of grace, with parental love yearning after them at a distance, and the kindest foster-parents watching over them at home, and with the ever-present Spirit of their Heavenly Father dwelling within their hearts. You are of an age to feel such thoughts as these, and to apply them to your own conduct; so do not think, like the Eton "Fellows," that your pater preaches too long sermons; but let a few words from me from time to time at long intervals set you thinking, and so become the seed of a thousand good resolutions and holy thoughts.

The bishop was averse from writing detailed records of his voyages, and little would have been known of them had not his friends demanded from him *vivâ voce* stories of his doings when he returned to his home. Thus a graphic and independent account of the doings of this eighth voyage to Melanesia was sent to a clergyman in England:—

Oct. 18th, 1856.

I will give you some anecdotes of the bishop's last trip to the north. Perhaps you have heard them before through Judge Patteson.

They came to an island called Santa Maria, north of Mallicolo, and after reading Quiros' account of his landing there 250 years ago, they went into the same bay as he did. He states that he was kindly treated by the old folks, with whom he interchanged presents; but he observed the young men moving off to a promontory at some little distance, round which his boat must pass. Accordingly, when he was rounding this point, he was saluted by a volley of arrows. Just so, the bishop was kindly received by the old people in the bay, and he observed the young folk moving off to the promontory; and accordingly he kept his boat out of reach of arrow-shot, but was duly saluted with a volley in passing. And this has been going on apparently for 250 years without interruption. What a stereotype is this!

The bishop passed on two or three miles, landed at another village, and made presents to the people; so he hopes to have secured for himself a favourable reception next year.

Have you any notion of the way in which he conducts his missionary work? Perhaps you fancy that, like S. Augustine landing at Ramsgate, he marches up chanting litanies in procession. If he did, he would probably be killed before he had gone 100 yards; for there is no Queen Bertha there to have prepared the men's minds and hearts for the Gospel. In due time, maybe, he will chant his Litany and Te Deum there. But on first invading the land or lagoon he has to make a favourable impression on the people's minds by presents, and by letting them see that he is not come to trade. This he does by leaving his boat ten or twenty yards from the reef, where some 100 people are standing and shouting; he then plunges into the water, arranging no end of presents on his back, which he has been showing to their astounded eyes out of the boat. He probably has learnt from some stray canoe or a neighbouring island the name of the chief. He calls out his name; he steps forward; the bishop hands him a tomahawk, and holds out his hand for the chief's bow and arrows. By this Glaucus and Diomedes' process he wins golden opinions at all events. The old chief with innate chivalry sends the tomahawk to the rear, to show that he is safe and may place confidence in him. The bishop pats the children on the head, gives them fish-hooks and red tape; for there is an enormous demand for *red tape* in these islands. Probably then the bishop has some "tame elephant" with him—a black boy from some other island,—and he has clothed him, and taught him to read or the like; and he brings forward this specimen and sample, and tries to make them understand he wants some of their boys to treat in like manner. The bishop gets as many names written down as he can, and picks up as many words as he can; establishes a friendly relation, and exchanges calico for yams perhaps, or cocoa-nuts, and after a while swims off to his boat. Next year he will go and call out the names of his old friends; get two or three on board; induce them to take a trip with him while he goes to the neighbouring islands. So he learns their language enough to tell them what he has come for. He returns, and lands his guests, with full instructions to tell the people his objects; and the third voyage he finds plenty ready to come off to New Zealand, or any other place where he fixes his head-quarters.

Mr. Patteson too had found the work not merely congenial, but engrossing and attractive, and had gladdened the bishop's heart by writing to him that it was so; his letter drew forth the following reply:—

WELLINGTON, *Nov, 24th,* 1856.

MY DEAR COLEY,

I am most thankful to receive your good account of the boys, and to find that you are experiencing what I always felt to be so remarkable a feature in this work, viz. the affection which grows up spontaneously towards these wild children of nature. To find such elements of good where we might have expected every evil passion to be dominant is a very great encouragement. We have been delighted to hear of the good old Judge entering with full flow of feeling into the proceedings of St. Barnabas' Day, as one who has now qualified himself for a full share in that holy fellowship, by having given a better contribution than even Barnabas laid at the feet of the Apostles. Pray tell him from me when you write how thankful I am that he has thus found his consolation, and practically verified our Lord's promise, that those who give up sons for His sake shall receive them back again even in this life. As men said of St. Paul, your bodily presence was little compared with the power of your letters to place you before your father's mind, as engaged in the work to which he has dedicated you, a work tending to complete the number of God's elect, and so to bring about that re-union of parents and children over which death will have no dominion."

The bishop-captain kept up the discipline of his ship with man-of-war's precision, and the foregoing letter goes from profound subjects to the domestic economy of the *Southern Cross.*

> Our household on board has been going on well till last Saturday, when Mr. —— thought proper, after a whole day's leave on shore, to keep himself and the two B—— away till 10.30 P.M., for which he and they have been "logged," according to the law. Soal and Fisher have been uniformly steady.

In October of this busy year the bishop sailed again to the southward on Visitation, hoping to greet the new Bishop of Christchurch on his arrival. It will be remembered that in 1851 the bishop had resigned this portion of his diocese, and had hoped that a bishop would have come out with the first detachment of settlers in the Canterbury colony; but for five years that hope had been disappointed. On Christmas Eve the bishop wrote in his diary:—

> "Went on board at 8, took off the bishop and his whole family in our two boats: carried them to the *Southern Cross;* whole Harper family seated round our cabin, fourteen or fifteen happy faces. Went on shore, borrowed trucks, pulled baggage up bridle path; three cheers on the top: packed on horses down the hill: met carts at the bottom."

On the Christmas Day the new bishop was installed, and on the festival of S. Stephen Bishop Selwyn wrote:—

> "This day fifteen years I left England, and this morning I woke up with a thankful feeling that my load was at length lightened by the transfer to the Bishop of Christchurch of one-third of New Zealand."

Thus ended a year of much work, and many blessings. On New Year's Day the *Southern Cross* sailed again for Auckland, *via* the Chatham Islands, Wellington, and Waiapu.

The year 1857 was fraught with events of great importance; the Melanesian voyage, in which the islanders were carried to their homes on the approach of winter, was made without the bishop taking any part in it. He was fully engaged with plans for a conference which was held in June at Taurarua for the purpose of agreeing on a Constitution for the Church of New Zealand. This conference was attended by representatives from all the other Settlements and by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The whole question of Ecclesiastical Legislation will be dealt with in a separate chapter, and the event is only thus briefly chronicled here. The happy accomplishment of his hopes for the diocese of Christchurch had led him to look forward to a still larger extension of the Episcopate, and on these and other topics he wrote a letter of much interest to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins :—

AUCKLAND, *Feb.* 27*th*, 1857.

The natural effect of the creation of the Bishopric of Christchurch has been to make our other provinces desirous of the same benefit. I proposed at first that Wellington and Nelson should be united in one diocese ; but Nelson strongly objected to this, and I think with good reason, as the lion's share of the benefit would certainly remain with Wellington ; and it is very probable that Nelson would not have seen more of the new bishop than they do of me ; for I seldom fail of going there every year. Church meetings have been held in both places, and resolutions have been cordially adopted, and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the Archbishop of Canterbury with the sanction of the Governor of New Zealand.

I therefore beg for the support and consent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to the proposed arrangements, which I am sure, under the Divine blessing, will have the effect of building up the Church of England in this country on a sure foundation of ecclesiastical polity. I deprecate any question about the necessity of this subdivision : on these simple grounds, that New Zealand is as large as Great Britain, and therefore that five, or even six bishops, will have no sinecure, as the number of persons to be confirmed is not the labour, but the distance to be gone in search of them. My average is about one candidate for confirmation for every mile of travelling. In all other respects of organizing institutions and giving a tone to a new society, it is absolutely necessary that a bishop should be early in the field, and have a field within the compass of his powers.

MELANESIA and NORFOLK Island.—There has been and is great confusion about the Island portion of the diocese of New Zealand.

In 1841, the diocese of New Zealand was formed by Letters Patent, separating it from Australia; and with geographical limits including Norfolk Island, and expressly giving to my charge all islands adjacent to New Zealand. Norfolk Island is 400 miles only from New Zealand, 800 from Sydney, 1,000 from Van Diemen's Land.

In 1842, when the convict establishments were transferred from Sydney to Tasmania, an Act was passed annexing Norfolk Island to Tasmania, and on the supposition that it was still part of the diocese of Australia, transferring the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Bishop of Tasmania. To this I made no objection, as it seemed only reasonable that the Bishop of Tasmania should superintend all the convict chaplains, whether in Van Diemen's Land or Norfolk Island.

But the convict system having ceased in Norfolk Island I can see no reason why the spiritual oversight should not revert to the Bishop of New Zealand (even though the civil government be retransferred to Sydney) till the island becomes the See of the Bishop of Melanesia, for which purpose it is admirably adapted.

The simple and practical course seems to be:

1. To repeal the Act 6 & 7 Victoria, c. 35.
2. To pass a new Act, if necessary, placing Norfolk Island under the Governor of New South Wales.
3. To leave the ecclesiastical oversight to revert to the Bishop of New Zealand, the insular character of whose diocese constrains him to maritime habits, and makes it easy for him to visit Norfolk Island. But Parliament need have nothing to do with this, as all the Radicals have a great objection to legislating for the Colonial Church, and I, though no Radical, in this point agree with them. The Act being repealed which annexed Norfolk Island to the diocese of Tasmania, my Letters Patent will then, I presume, again take effect.

As to the Melanesian Bishopric, plans, I thank God, are fast ripening.

We have nearly 10,000*l.* already paid up and invested for the endowment of the bishopric.

Rev. J. C. Patteson has already visited with me twenty-seven islands, besides twenty-five more where we were not able to hold intercourse with the people. He has acquired the languages of New Zealand, the Solomon Islands and one of the Loyalty Islands, to a sufficient extent to teach and preach to the people; and is now constantly engaged with a school of native youths from St. Christoval, Guadalcanar and Nengone, with whom we hope to return in June to their islands, and in the case of the two first-named islands to widen and improve our acquaintance with the people, besides pushing out into the unknown regions of New Ireland, New Britain, and New Hanover. The establishment of the new bishoprics in New Zealand will leave me much more time for missionary work, especially as the portion of the country which will still remain under my charge will be superintended, during my absence, by such trustworthy men as the two Archdeacons Williams, Archdeacon Abraham and Archdeacon Browne. It is surely for the interest of the Church that I should leave to such tried and experienced servants of Christ as much freedom as possible to administer the affairs of their own archdeaconries. I should not have made these remarks if I had not heard something said about neglect of New Zealand. On the contrary, when we are in a situation, as we hope to be in a few years, to claim the Bishopric of Norfolk Island with its train of 100 islands, chiefly ministered to by native pastors, but some by the children of Pitcairners, then there will be nothing that will please me more than to shrink away from all the ground over which I have been unduly stretched, and to devote the rest of my days to the cultivation of a garden-plot in New Zealand.

CHURCH TRUST DEED and SYSTEM.—I have just seen a resolution of the S.P.G. allowing of grants of money for endowment to be made to dioceses where the bishop, clergy, and laity are *legally* incorporated: and Archdeacon Abraham seems to have received private information that the word *legally* was put into the resolution on purpose to restrict such grants to dioceses where Church Acts, such as those of Melbourne and Canada, have been passed by the Colonial Legislature; but that our Trust Deed, resting upon the general powers of an Act of our Assembly, applicable to all religious bodies, but not specifying the Church of England, would not come within the intention of your resolution. If this should be the case, I would submit to the Society that there is no real difference between the plan proposed in New Zealand and those adopted in Melbourne or Canada. *No Colonial Legislature can establish a Church. All it can do is to legalize a Sect.* So far is the Melbourne Act from being higher or safer ground than ours, that the petition from the members of the Church in Melbourne stated most clearly that they asked for nothing more than might be given to any other religious body; but that the other bodies, having ready-made systems of their own, did not require the Colonial Legislature to create them for them; but that the Church of England having no such system of its own, came to the Legislature to make one for her. We say, on the contrary, we have as good a system as any other denomination, and as good a right to carry it out; and all we ask is, that as we have no Courts of our own, you will give us the use of your Court to enforce, if necessary, the covenants which we make among ourselves. Our Trust Deed will state what our system is, and an Act passed at the last session of our General Assembly incorporates all religious bodies, without specifying any by name except the Wesleyans and Romanists, who had got into some difficulty with their property which required special legislation. It will, I think, be satisfactory to you to know that Sir John Patteson and our Chief Justice Martin have gone carefully into the Draft Trust Deed and the Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand, and these are Sir John Patteson's words in a letter dated London, 5th Dec. 1856 :—

"Judge Martin and I have had two evenings' talk touching New Zealand affairs. We looked over the drafts of the Trust Deed and the Bill which the Archdeacon sent me, and thought they would answer the intended purpose very well."

We are aiming at the same ends as our brethren in Canada and Melbourne, viz. a strictly legal incorporation of the Church of England in this Colony; but our proposed mode of operation differs in detail from theirs, for reasons which it would take me almost a volume to explain. But my chief desire is to avoid confusion between functions so entirely distinct, so far as concerns the Church, as those of the Imperial Parliament and the Colonial Legislature.

The Conference over, the bishop carried back to their homes the Bishop of Christchurch and the representatives of the southern portions of New Zealand, and then set out on July 22nd with Mr. Patteson on the most exhaustive inspection of the Melanesian Islands which he ever made. Norfolk Island was first visited, and Mrs. Selwyn was installed in Government House, to the delight of the whole population; four of the Pitcairners joined the ship, which would now always have a full complement of hands on board when a boat's crew was taking the bishop ashore; and thus equipped she visited in succession the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, Banks' Islands, Santa Cruz group, and the Southern Islands of the Solomon group; hardly an island was passed over. At the Loyalty Islands the bishop encouraged the native teachers of the London Missionary Society, who had been for a long time without any supervision or support on the part of their superiors: and at the New Hebrides friendly communications were held with the Presbyterian teachers. Passing northward the bishop entered into a field that was occupied by no one but himself, and into waters in which his own charts were the only guides.

There were strange, wild characters roaming about the seas in those days, outlaws, by choice or necessity, from civilized countries, whose only law was the law of might; and the bishop had more than one characteristic interview with leaders among these. One of these, as he lay dying in a harbour of the New Hebrides, said—"Take my boy to Bishop Selwyn, and tell him to bring him up not to be so big a scamp as his father."

On this voyage the spacious harbour at Vanua Lava was discovered, and named Port Patteson after Sir John

Patteson: here a Sunday was spent quietly, the natives of this and the neighbouring island of Mota dropping in in their canoes, and looking on half amused, half awestricken. Little did the worshippers think that, among those nude and grotesque figures, with frizzled hair and boar-tusk on wrist, there was standing one who was destined to be the first Native priest of Melanesia, George Sarawia.

At Lifu the native teachers welcomed the arrival of the Mission ship, and begged that a missionary might be sent to them: the bishop, unwilling to explain at length the difficulty of granting the request, could only prescribe patience; but his old scholar John Cho, with his wife and two men, determined to go to New Zealand for another sojourn, and thus the *Southern Cross* returned to Norfolk Island and to New Zealand, with every available square foot of room well occupied by a motley group of passengers.

A few days were spent at Auckland, and the bishop, stranger always to rest and leisure, started on a Visitation to those portions of the Southern Island which were not under the care of Bishop Harper. He returned to Auckland early in 1858, which was in many respects a most eventful year. After a Visitation of the Chatham Islands and of Taranaki, which was not free from mutterings of war, the bishop returned to Auckland on April 8th, and a fortnight later sailed with Mr. Patteson on a very fruitful voyage to the islands, leaving Mrs. Selwyn for the third time on Norfolk Island. Visits were paid to Lifu and Nengone; and scholars were returned to their friends: at Mai on May 15th the bishop restored a lad named Petere to his friends in the presence of more than 100 of his own people. The boy spoke to his friends of what he had learned in New Zealand about God and our Lord, the Lord's Day, the duty of living in peace, &c., and then Mr. Patteson preached the first sermon ever heard on Mai. The bishop entered in his journal on this eventful day, "Petere and Laure waiting upon us to the very last, and bringing mats and presents for all. Poor boys, with tears in their eyes, and up to their waists in water, they were the last to leave us. I blessed them both and returned on board, full of thankfulness for this wonderful day."

On June 14th the bishop left Mr. Patteson at Lifu, where he had determined to keep school with his pupils during the winter instead of sending them back to their own island homes and the barbarism which reigned there. The island was not well suited for a Melanesian winter school: cocoa-nuts were abundant, but bananas, bread-fruit, and sugar-cane, to which the boys had been accustomed, were not to be had. Water too was scarce: but with Norfolk Island closed against him as a permanent settlement, Mr. Patteson had no great range of choice, although he afterwards kept his school at Mota. The climate too was cold, and subject to great variations of temperature. Here, however, Mr. Patteson spent sixteen weeks, until on September 30th, the bishop on board the *Southern Cross* called for him and took him on a voyage to the northward, which ended only in November.

The *Southern Cross* on this northward trip met with an accident which might have been more serious. It has been pleasantly recorded by one who was present, the Rev. B. T. Dudley, in the columns of the *Auckland Church Gazette:*—

"On the day on which we passed up the lagoon, at New Caledonia, there was a peculiar sheen on the water, which rendered it very difficult to see the bottom (usually in these lagoons the bottom can be seen with wonderful clearness, even to a depth of fifteen to twenty fathoms). The bishop, alternately with the captain, had been watching on the fore-yard as we sailed along throughout the whole morning, when suddenly, the peculiar grating sound which once heard cannot be easily forgotten reached our ears; there was an evident cessation of forward motion, followed shortly by a succession of severe bumps, and we soon found that the ship's 'forefoot' was fast aground. What was to be done? Captain Williams, who had been following us in the *Mary Ann Watson*, as soon as he came up to us pulled on board and undertook to carry the news of our mishap to Port de France, meanwhile suggesting to us to take to our boats; the bishop, however, preferred to do his best to help himself before calling in other aid. Accordingly, under the directions of the captain, who certainly rose to this occasion, we all, from the bishop downwards, worked with a will, carrying anchors out into deeper water, heaving on the windlass, &c., and finally, about midnight, the tide having risen to the full, we had the satisfaction of feeling the ship slip off the ledge on which she had rested into the deeper water alongside. Shortly after this one of the boats of H.M. *Iris*, which happened then to be lying in the harbour, came out to us, and we warped off into deeper water. In the morning we entered the harbour, being met by the steamer *Styx* putting forth to our rescue; and found the French man-of-war *Bayonnais* and several transports in harbour besides the *Iris*, the whole making a lively scene.

"Now came the difficulty; the vessel showed no signs of serious injury; but how were we to know that her bottom, after all the bumping that had gone on (and very hard bumping too), was fit for the voyage to New Zealand? there was no dock, no patent slip; not even a 'hard' on which to lay the vessel, and no divers were obtainable.

"The bishop was equal to the occasion. He caused the ship to be heeled over as far as was safe; and then, having stripped himself to his tweed trousers and jersey, in the presence of the captain of the *Bayonnais* and some of his officers, and amid their exclamations of admiration, made a succession of dives, during which he felt over the whole of the keel and forward part of the vessel, much to the detriment of his hands, which were cut to pieces with the jagged copper; and ascertained the exact condition of her bottom, and the nature of the injuries sustained. No wonder that the next day, after dining on board the Frenchman, he was sent away with a salute of eleven guns!"

During the interval of the two voyages the bishop wrote a characteristic letter to his sister, who had undertaken the charge of an important Training Institution at Sandwell near Birmingham.

AUCKLAND, KAWAU ISLAND,
August 24th, 1858 (*St. Bartholomew's Day*).

MY DEAR SISTER,

I can imagine you to-day expounding the character of St. Bartholomew to your little congregation; and teaching them to be like Nathanael, Israelites indeed without guile. May all the orphans whom you are bringing up be guileless children of that Heavenly Father, who has given His blessed Son to wash them in His own blood, that they may walk in white raiment, and follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.

My employment at the present time is of a different kind, though to the same end; for I am living here in an old deserted cottage, once the dwelling of a Cornish miner (working in the copper-mine now abandoned), to superintend the repairs of the *Southern Cross*, which was slightly damaged by six hours' bumping on a reef in New Caledonia. My dwelling is not equal to Sandwell; but it is wonderfully comfortable and quiet; and I only regret that I did not bring down dear Sarah with me to share my hermitage. The fruit of this uninterrupted leisure is a letter to you, to assure you of our interest in your great work; and of our frequent prayers that it may be abundantly blessed. The feature in it which pleases me most is its comprehensiveness in providing for the wants of so many different classes of persons; and yet all united together by a reciprocity of usefulness, like a "body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth." It is an experiment which we have tried on a large scale, and with some measure of success, though the peculiar circumstances of a colony are very unfavourable to the growth of such institutions. Still we point to our scholars in every part of New Zealand and elsewhere, as proofs that industrious habits inculcated at school will not easily be lost. Through the same process of reciprocal industry at St. John's College have come forth the following results:—

Clergymen.—Mr. Hutton, Mr. Fisher, Mr. S. Williams, Mr. H. F. Butt, Mr. F. Gould, Mr. A. G. Purchas, Mr. E. H. Heywood, Mr. C. P. Davies, Mr. Rota Waitoa (New Zealander), Mr. T. L. Tudor.

Laity.—Henry Taratoa, head teacher of Otaki native school; Philemon Te Karari, head teacher of St. Stephen's native school; Nelson Hector, chief officer in P. and O Company's steamer; G. and F. Howard, now managers of the College farm; besides many more, who, taken under the charge of the College in the depressed period of the colony, and in a state of poverty, are now all doing well as clerks in banks or merchants' offices, surveyors, managers of saw-mills, &c.

I can scarcely go to any part of the country where old scholars of the College do not at once come forward to offer me their assistance. All this is by way of encouragement to you, and to express my conviction that you have laid the right foundation in taking thought first for the poor. This was the ruling principle of all the ancient foundations which have been the stability of the English commonwealth. The gentleman and lady heresy is the young cuckoo against which you must guard, lest it drive your hedge-sparrows out of their own nest. You will have persons of what are called the higher class, who will wish to belong to your club, that they may get more than the value of their subscription. They will be glad enough to be waited upon by your orphan children, but they will teach them nothing in return. Eliminate all such elements as these, and cherish your hedge-sparrows, those who will take everything as it comes, and stay with you in winter as well as summer, without fancies or likes and dislikes. May you have the poor always with you, and always have the will and the power to do them good.

Your very affectionate Brother,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

Events had happened in England during this year which gave to the bishop much cause for thankfulness. His firm friends, Archdeacon Abraham and the Rev. E. Hobhouse had been consecrated to the Sees of Wellington and Nelson respectively. New Zealand was no longer the wild uncultivated country over which he had travelled on foot, or around whose coasts he had sailed in his little craft: it was rapidly becoming peopled with English immigrants, the Maoris were proving their fitness for Holy Orders, and the Church was firmly taking root. In seventeen years the bishop found himself one of four bishops who were shepherding the flock in New Zealand; in the islands of Melanesia Mr. Patteson was each year revealing the marvellous powers which pointed him out as the born leader of the crusade which Bishop Selwyn had originated. It was therefore with real thankfulness that the bishop was enabled to write in his diary on 31st December:—

"A year of many blessings. Two prosperous voyages to the Islands; one prosperous voyage to the Southern Settlements; one third of the Visitation Tour by land accomplished; the consecration of the Bishops of Wellington and Nelson."

But the year which followed was hardly less fruitful in results: in 1859 the first General Synod was held, of which more will be written in another chapter: on the same occasion another See was founded, and Archdeacon Williams was consecrated Bishop of Waiapu. Mr. Patteson had made one voyage before Easter, the autumn having set in unusually early, and had returned all his boys to their homes, and in August he sailed again, accompanied by Bishop Selwyn, to whom this was the last occasion of visiting Melanesia. On their return Mr. Patteson, who had now earned and assumed the honour and the duties of leadership in the work of the mission, was enabled to move his scholars from St. John's College to a new position at Kohimarama, on the Waitamata Harbour, where the head-quarters continued until in 1867 they were transferred to Norfolk Island. The local work of St. John's College, which, as contrasted with the Melanesian work, had seemed to fade away, and with it many bright hopes, was in part revived at this time. The bishop's sermon at the re-opening, on the text, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die," was most characteristic, and full of hope for the future. The Rev. S. Blackburne, who was selected as the head of St. John's, has kindly contributed his own impression of the bishop and of his work, both in New Zealand and in Lichfield:—

"It was an immense privilege to be brought into intimate intercourse with Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, Bishop Patteson, and Sir W. Martin. Bishop Selwyn I always regard as the greatest man this age has produced. A king every inch of him, he would rule by a look, but stoop to perform the most menial office without the slightest loss of dignity.

"What I most admired in him was his keen sense of duty, and his grand simplicity of character.

"I was attracted to New Zealand by hero-worship; I had never seen the bishop, but in my Cambridge days I had heard much of him.

"When Bishop Abraham, having been commissioned to appoint his successor at St. John's College, kindly offered the post to me, I told him that I looked forward with intense pleasure to working in the diocese of so great a man as Bishop Selwyn. He replied, 'He *is* a great man, and would appear so to his valet, if he had one.'

"Soon after we had cast anchor in Auckland harbour the captain told me that the bishop was pulling off to the ship. As he came on board all were struck with his appearance, and showed great respect. His first wish was to make acquaintance with the emigrants, and I introduced many to him. He spoke in such a kind and fatherly way to all.

"He had arranged a month beforehand to devote the day of our arrival to welcoming us, and settling us at the college.

"One instance of simplicity he soon gave us. I was busy with boxes, &c., getting them ready for the boat, when the bishop came up and said, 'Are these yours?' and he took a large box in each hand, and carried it to the gangway, much to our astonishment and that of the captain, crew, and passengers. But there was no loss of dignity. He looked grand when he was doing porter's work. There was one youth, whom I specially brought under his notice. He was an apprentice, who had met with a frightful accident, and whom we had brought through (humanly speaking) by careful nursing. As he was recovering, I had many opportunities of talking to him, and I prepared him for confirmation, in the hope that there might be one in

Auckland whilst the ship was in harbour. So I asked the bishop if he was going to hold a Confirmation soon. 'Oh,' said he, 'we manage those matters very simply here. Whenever a clergyman tells me that he has any candidates ready, I go to his parish and confirm; and if there is a single one (as in the present case) I confirm at any service.' So the lad was presented at an evening service at St. Paul's, Auckland, and was much impressed with the service. I have kept up a correspondence with him from time to time. He has been wrecked frequently, and he has commanded several vessels, but he never forgets those days which to him were very happy, and he always refers to them with the simplicity of a child.

"To return to our welcome at the College. The bishop having duly installed me, suggested that we should repair to the chapel, and return thanks for our safe voyage. So I mustered the many members of my family, including servants, and the bishop conducted a most touching service, selecting the most appropriate psalms and prayers; and when he gave the blessing he left the prayer-desk and put his hand on every one present, down to the little baby in arms. We lost the little one soon after, but we often think of the blessing that he received from the bishop at our first service in the college chapel.

"Bishop Selwyn had a love of work, and great power of endurance. I have heard of his taking eight services in one day. When 10,000 soldiers were landed in New Zealand with only one chaplain (and he a Roman Catholic), the bishop felt that it was his duty to provide for them: so he constituted himself chaplain, started a number of services, and held Bible Classes with the men. The soldiers were enthusiastic about him. He knew exactly how to adapt his language to them. It was amusing to hear the officers speak of him. They not only admired him as a bishop, but they discovered in him great power for taking in the details of military life. They thought they saw in him the making of a first-rate soldier. They used to say that it was a shame that he was not a general. The naval men were equally enthusiastic about his seaman-like qualities. They all agreed that he would have made a first-rate admiral. He was, as a cricketer expresses it, 'good all round.' He would have taken the lead in any profession. Of his capacity for work I had a specimen in the camp.

"At a time when he was pressed with a good deal of parochial work which he had undertaken in Auckland, I offered to help him on Sundays, suggesting that my theological students might, as lay-readers, take my parochial services in the college district, and set me free for duty in an Auckland church. He jumped at the offer, and employed me not in Auckland, but in the camp at Otahuhu, which was six miles from the college; and I found myself in for five services every Sunday. The work was interesting, but a little trying to the physique of any but a Selwyn.

"Those who have seen much of the bishop must have been struck with his wonderful acquaintance with Holy Scripture, and the aptness of the portions which he chose for special occasions. When we had a farewell service in his private chapel, it seemed as if the passage that he read had been written for the very occasion, so apt was it; it almost appeared to be delivered by him impromptu. A stranger whom I met in London remarked to me on this acquaintance with the Bible, which was evident when the bishop read a lesson. He had attended a service at Lichfield cathedral, and heard Bishop Selwyn read a lesson. But he said, 'He did not *read* it, he *spoke* it; he knew it off by heart.'

"The simplicity of living which Bishop Selwyn had practised in New Zealand he brought with him to England. He disliked a fuss being made when he came to partake of hospitality, and had an especial aversion to being taken about in grand carriages. He came to stay with me at B——, when I held the rectory there, I think it was for a Confirmation, and when he wrote to announce his coming he added, 'Don't send a carriage to meet me at the station; send your donkey for my bag, and I will walk.' My good squiress had put her carriage and horses at my disposal, but the bishop would not make use of them; and when we went from my house to a neighbouring parish for the consecration of a churchyard, a distance of six miles, we walked.

"On his way to B——, on his first visit to the parish, he overtook an old woman toiling with difficulty up the steep hill that leads to the village. He offered her his arm, and pulled her up the hardest part, and of course talked cheerily with her. She had no idea who he was, and told him she was going to B—— church, to hear the bishop preach. Great was her astonishment when she saw the bishop enter the church in his episcopal robes, and recognised her kind companion. She came from the neighbouring village, and was a Dissenter; but the effect of the bishop's geniality was her conversion to the Church, and she has been a staunch Churchwoman since."

In this same year the first overt act was taken which led to the outbreak of the unfortunate war which raged for years, and led to the apostasy of a large proportion of the Maori race, and which may be said to be smouldering even at this moment, seeing that neither party has been the indisputable victor, neither has peace ever been made.

But the story of the Waitara war, mixed up as it is with the story of the bishop's life, will have a separate chapter.

CHAPTER III.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION.

This biography has now reached a point at which it will be necessary to ignore strictly chronological order, and to go back to the very early days of Bishop Selwyn's residence in New Zealand. In 1859 the first General Synod of the Anglican Communion in these islands was held, but the assembly was the result and the climax of the thought, and prayer, and patient labour of many years.

It needed but the throwing out of swarms from the mother-country to prove how lamentably deficient is the Church of England in powers of self-government and of adaptation to the varying necessities of a rapidly changing order of things. At home, with the support of endowments and the influence of State connection, these deficiencies are not so patent, although anything like unusual tension brings them into prominence; but when the mother-Church, awaking from her slumbers and regarding the daily exodus of her children to all parts of the world, followed them with the fulness of her organization, it was no longer possible to conceal how inadequate was the provision for the due administration of her discipline and the maintenance of her position, both in the colonies and among the heathen.

At first it is true this was not revealed in the full light of its necessity. In India, which was treated as a garrison, in Australia, which was regarded as a large convict station, in Canada and the West Indies, where the Church was an appendage of the State and maintained by subsidies in the shape either of lands or money voted from the public treasury, the life of the Church and its inherent powers were suppressed in consideration of the material aids which the civil power secured to it. But there came a time when colonies outgrew the stage in which Imperial nursing was possible: for a time they had been appendages to the Colonial Office and had been governed from Downing Street, but when the claim for local self-government in matters civil could no longer be resisted, the value of Letters Patent, on which the coercive jurisdiction of the Episcopate had depended, was discredited on the first occasion on which it was tested, and the Church was found to have fallen between the two systems, and to be given up to anarchy almost without power of extricating herself.

The condition of a Church thus situated was well shown by a comparison with a colony similarly situated as regards its civil government, by one who had much to do with rescuing the New Zealand Church from the "anomalous position" which he[1] describes:—

> "Without law or organization there can be but little efficiency. If it were uncertain whether the Governor of a colony were clothed with any legal powers; if there were no means of ascertaining what his powers really were; or if, when known, there existed no tribunal for enforcing them; if it were uncertain, too, whether the laws of England, or which of them, extended to a colony; if there were no local legislature with authority to make laws for its government; no courts for the trial and punishment of offenders, the helpless condition of the colonial state may be readily imagined; yet, until means are taken for establishing among its members some settled form of ecclesiastical government, such is, in fact, the condition of the Colonial Church. Though their numbers far exceed those of every other religious community in the

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[1] Mr. Swainson, late Attorney-General of New Zealand.

colony, the members of the Church of England in New Zealand are practically the least powerful and efficient of them all when called upon to act in concert. A majority of the population of the colony are to be found among the members of the Church; its clergy are numerically equal to the ministers of all the other religious denominations, and more than ordinary provision has been made for its episcopal supervision; but the Church in New Zealand is still without law, without organization, without discipline, and without unity, and for want of some system of organization, by which its power may be directed to a common object by a common will, its influence is destroyed. Of all religious denominations, too, the members of the Church of England are the most helpless when suddenly thrown upon their own resources in a new country. The lay members of other religious bodies have generally had some share at home in the management of their Church affairs, and the necessity of their own personal exertions has not been forestalled by the providence of their ancestors.

"Carrying with them habits of self-reliance, knowing that there is no one to help them but themselves, and having no Act of Submission or other ecclesiastical statute to deter them, they immediately on landing in a new country set earnestly to work to organize a system of Church-government, suited to their new and altered circumstances; and from the outset they become a united and effective body. The members of the Church of England, on the other hand, find themselves in an anomalous position: they neither carry with them the ecclesiastical laws of their parent Church, nor any authority to make new and more suitable laws for themselves; and, until recently, it was believed that the clergy and laity could not, in the face of the Act of Submission, lawfully even meet together for the purpose of agreeing on regulations touching on ecclesiastical affairs; indeed, on questions of the most elementary kind, and of immediate practical importance, they find themselves without either rule or guidance. By what means may the necessary funds be raised for the building of churches and for the maintenance of the clergy? In whom should Church property be vested, and by whom should it be administered? Should the clergy be supported by independent incomes, or depend partly on the voluntary contributions of their congregations? And should their incomes be regulated by any general scale? How and by whom should patronage be administered? By what tribunal are ecclesiastical offences to be tried, and how is Church discipline to be maintained? On these and other like questions the members of the Church of England in a colony, not only find themselves without any law, but without any power of legislation.

"Having been members of an institution in the mother-country having its churches and its ministers maintained and supported by ancient endowments, they come to regard a well-endowed ecclesiastical establishment almost as a birthright, and are somewhat surprised, on transplanting themselves to a new country, that churches are not built, and that ministers are not supported without cost or trouble to themselves: and some time commonly elapses before they realize their true position and recognize the necessity for their own exertion. And even when the *vis inertiæ* has been overcome, having been unaccustomed at home to take any part in Church organization or in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, the laity find that they have no experience to aid them when called upon to take part in laying the foundation of the ecclesiastical institutions of their adopted country.

"And no measures having been taken by the parent Church to provide her colonial branches with any system of local self-government, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of England in a British colony, instead of being a body 'fitly joined together by that which every joint supplieth,' were a mere aggregation of disjointed members as powerless for many important purposes as an army without the Mutiny Act or the Articles of War."

The bishop had carefully considered the condition of his diocese, and he sought counsel from one who, better than almost any other man, was qualified to give it. He wrote to Mr. Justice Patteson:—

"There are no men to whom many of us look with more confidence than to Judge Coleridge and yourself. It has become so habitual with me to take counsel from your order, first with Sir J. Richardson, now with Mr. Martin, who is as a brother, that I would earnestly desire, if it be not premature, to send you a special retainer of love and gratitude, engaging you to undertake the elaboration of the intricate question of the Constitution of the Colonial Church; and if you would now and then communicate with Mr. Martin, C. J., and me on this subject, you would find two minds most ready to receive your practical counsels. The questions are simply three, but those of great magnitude:—

1. What English laws we are bound by?
2. What colonial laws we have?
3. What further legislation we require?"

Bishop Selwyn was appointed Bishop of New Zealand under Letters Patent from the Crown, and he was invested thereby with autocratic power for the government of the Church. As an Australian bishop, similarly appointed six years later, the first Bishop of Melbourne, said, "The government of the Church of England in this colony is a pure autocracy. While the colonial clergy justly complain of the insecurity of their tenure, men of high standing and ability in England, such as we especially require, are for the most part unwilling to accept employment where they would be subject to the will of a single individual."

But these prelates soon discovered, to use the words of Mr. Gladstone, that "in their very power lay their weakness," for purposes of government. Hence from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, there came petitions and demands for liberty to hold assemblies for ecclesiastical purposes, and to associate the laity with the clergy in the regulation of the affairs of the Church.

The Bishop of New Zealand had hardly been two years in his diocese, when, in 1844, he held a Synod of the Clergy at the Waimate, of which adequate mention has already been made. In 1847 another clerical Synod was held, but in the interval since the former Synod the bishop had been in correspondence with the authorities both of Church and State, and was able now to produce a draft Constitution for the Church on the basis of consensual compact, which was, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, "the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first." To this Synod the bishop uttered those memorable words, some of which have already been quoted in these pages, but which will bear repetition:—

> "I believe the monarchical idea of the Episcopate to be as foreign to the true mind of the Church as it is adverse to the Gospel doctrine of humility. The expressive *Ma* of our native language, I pray, may always be appended to my name. I would rather resign my office than be reduced to act as a single isolated being. It remains then to define by some general principle the terms of our co-operation. They are simply these; that neither will I act without you, nor can you act without me."

From that time the bishop, as well in New Zealand as in England, never slackened his efforts in the cause of Church organization; he never pressed his own views, which the people he knew were not yet sufficiently educated in ecclesiastical matters to receive, but everywhere he sowed the seed, and left it to germinate. In the year 1850 he received the following thoughtful Appeal from the laity and clergy, which was signed by the Governor, Sir G. Grey, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and many others:—

> "We, the undersigned members of the branch of the Church of England existing in the New Zealand islands, beg with great respect to offer the following remarks for your Lordship's consideration.
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> "Upon reviewing our present position, we find that we form the most advanced and remote outpost of the Church of England. There have also devolved upon us, in common with many of our countrymen, the important duties of aiding in the foundation of a great nation, and in the moulding of its institutions. At the same time there are in our immediate vicinity various heathen nations, and even in the midst of us are many native inhabitants of these islands who have not yet embraced the doctrines of

Christianity. Moreover we, the European members of the Church of England, have been collected from many countries, and are settled in widely detached localities; and thus, although we are bound together by a common faith, and have common duties to perform, we are united by but few of the usual ties of long and familiar acquaintance, whilst there is no system of local organization which might tend to draw us together as members of the same Church.

"We therefore feel ourselves called, from circumstances and from our position, to vast responsibilities, and to the discharge of important duties, whilst we have many elements of weakness around and amongst us. From these causes it is our earnest conviction that a peculiar necessity exists for the speedy establishment of some system of Church-government amongst us, which by assigning to each order in the Church its appropriate duties, might call forth the energies of all, and thus enable the whole body of the Church most efficiently to perform its functions.

"Even with such a system our efforts might at first be feeble, from want of numbers and from our limited means, but yet we humbly trust that we should labour with such heart and earnestness as becomes those who desire to aid in planting here an efficient Church, which may, with God's blessing, promote His service, spread wide a knowledge of the Gospel, and secure the welfare of those vast numbers of our brethren who must hereafter occupy these islands.

"Actuated by these views and wishes, we beg to submit for your Lordship's consideration, and we trust for your approval, the outline of a plan of Church-government, resembling in many points that which we are informed has proved so beneficial to our brethren in America, and which we should all be satisfied to see adopted here. By providing for the assembling of a General Convention, the proposed plan affords also a security for the ultimate establishment of that system of Church-government which may be found to be most in conformity with the wishes of the whole body of the branch of the Church of England existing in New Zealand.

"We have felt the less hesitation in submitting these our views to your Lordship because we are aware that you have long been most anxious to see an efficient system of Church-government established amongst us, and that this subject is one which has not only always occupied your own earnest attention, but which you have on various occasions commended to the serious consideration of the members of our Church."

It is not necessary to cumber these pages with the scheme of a General Convention proposed by those who signed the foregoing address, inasmuch as many alterations were made before the scheme was finally adopted. Armed however with this assurance of the desires of his best laity, the bishop went to the episcopal meeting at Sydney, where the principle of such self-government was affirmed with the increased weight of so important a gathering.

In the years 1852 and 1853, public meetings were held in all the settlements in New Zealand to consider a document entitled, "General Principles of a Constitution for the Church in New Zealand," drawn up and circulated by the bishop. The amendments made at these meetings were embodied, with the original draft, in a tabular statement, with the signatures appended, in order that the amount of difference of opinion might be distinctly seen. The document, in this altered form, was again printed and circulated, and any member of the Church who had not already signed it was invited to attach his signature to that column of the tabular statement which contained the principles most in accordance with his own opinion.

How trying were the surroundings and circumstances of some of these meetings, at which the bishop patiently presided, and how content he was to sow beside all waters in the trustful confidence that it would not be in vain, may be gathered from a letter written by one who shared in all his labours to the late Rev. Ernest Hawkins:—

"There is no one principle that our bishop has kept more steadily in view, or more regularly put before the eyes and minds of the English settlers that are members of the Church of England, than the necessity of their learning to support themselves, and eventually of their relieving the parent Church of the burden—for it is a *burden* when that support is exacted beyond the due time, though you have always felt it to be a *privilege* to feed the infant Church in any colony, and to educate it for a vigorous *αὐτάρκεια.*

"The details then that I propose to give you of the different meetings held hereabouts for this purpose would be exceedingly commonplace, and will probably be found very uninteresting, and in noways differing from the 15,000 parish-vestries that are being held every week in England. But they may be considered more important in this point of view, that they exhibit an infant Church in its first efforts at walking alone, or rather crawling and tumbling about, the moment it has left hold of its mother's hand.

"Hitherto the difficulty has been to get people to come together for Church meetings. They seemed to have an intuitive forecast that they were going to be asked to give money, and they used to say, 'We are very well satisfied with things as they are, the services of the clergy and ministrations of religion being provided by S.P.G., through the bishop in part, and by the bishop and his friends in part.' But an Englishman's love for vestry-meetings is too deeply ingrained into his nature to let him go on for ever acquiescing in a state of things which altogether shuts him out from parochial affairs, and the words of a farmer to me as I came out of the first meeting that we held in this district expressed, in perhaps an exaggerated way, the feelings of the class: 'When I heard the church-bell ring this evening and summon me to the first vestry-meeting I had attended for twelve years, and for the first time in this country, I was quite overcome, and affected to tears.' Poor man! he had heard the same church-bell ring night after night for evening prayers, and his feelings had been proof, but a vestry-meeting and its attractions were overpowering! and really the meeting was most harmonious. Many rules and practices of the Church that had been established from the first here in accordance with common sense (I mean with the rubrics or most of them), were formally accepted and approved, not as rubrics, but as practical and sensible, and what is still better, as Scriptural customs. I do not believe that the meeting quite knew how rubrical its spirit was—for there is no particular attachment to our Prayer-book in this district, which is peopled mostly by Scotch Presbyterians and Wesleyans, but who from having no other place of worship have frequented ours, and are 'kindly welcome.' You must not think us very lax and latitudinarian here because I say so, but the fact is that in a new country, where men go out into the bush and settle far away from their own means of grace, our bishop has always said to the Scotch and the Wesleyans, 'As long as you have no minister or services of your own communion, you are free and welcome to come to ours.' In this spirit I have always acted, and have too good an opinion of the real charity and common sense of our Church brethren at home to fear any censure for a course that would not be right, or expedient, at home. In this same spirit the bishop has always acted in his Melanesian labours. He has helped a London Missionary, or a Scotch Presbyterian, when labouring alone in fields where the Church was doing nothing. He has held out the right-hand of fellowship to the simple-minded Samoan teachers whom he found scattered over the Isles of the Pacific. He has helped all except the Roman Catholics, and strange enough, that has been made a subject of charge against him by the London Mission. They say, 'Why don't you leave our stations alone, as you do the Roman Catholic?' The interference with their stations consisted on one occasion in his taking a Scotch Presbyterian minister and forty tons of goods, gratuitously, from Auckland to Anaiteum. Of course I can see how some persons may say, 'Ah, that's the fruit of your countenancing Dissent in any form; it serves you right for meddling with them, and you might have expected ingratitude.' But 'we are careful to answer them in this matter.'

"The first meetings which the bishop called were in Auckland, and the two parishes of St. Paul's (the Rev. J. F. Lloyd), and St. Matthew's (the Rev. F. Thatcher), sent their Church Committees to attend.

"The bishop expressed to the meeting very much what is so clearly enunciated by S.P.G. as the Society's principle of action in the answer made to the North American

Missions, and given in the Report of 1850. It told upon them most pointedly when he explained the sources whence the Society's income is so much derived, viz. 'the savings of the poor.' And the wealthy merchants and shopkeepers winced under the fact that they were being supplied with the ordinances of religion to some extent by the weekly contributions of ragged schools.

"The bishop laid before them his Endowment Plan, whereby he proposes to endow every minister to the amount of *half* his income, by means of funds contributed partly from the parishioners and partly from any resources he may have to meet them with, of course, mainly relying on your kind and willing aid.

"The great object of this *half* endowment is to make the clergyman partially independent of his flock, and partially dependent—independent enough 'to speak the truth, and boldly rebuke vice,' without fear of man; dependent enough to be made punctual and attentive to his duties, and not allowed to hunt three times a week, or spend a 'May' month for religious or secular dissipations away from his post without leave.

"The principle was accepted, and has since been acted upon, and the people have in real earnest set about collecting funds for the present maintenance and future endowment of their minister. One man certainly did get up and say broadly, that he objected to all endowments, and wished his clergyman to be 'entirely dependent on him;' but either the shame of having so nakedly avowed such a demoralizing sentiment, or the tacit rebuke administered by his fellow-townsmen, has so far taken effect that he has quite withdrawn all objection and is among the most willing contributors and collectors. The great difficulty that the bishop has to get over is this: he wants to prevent large livings like Stanhope ever infesting our system, and he wants to keep every large town at much the same rate of endowment—every country village or hamlet at its proportionate rate. But the people want to get their endowment money invested in such a way that some day or other it may return cent. per cent. for their present investment. The bishop says, 'No, you shall always have the colonial rate of interest on it, and no more, and the rest shall go to establish the Church in other and poorer districts.' All this you will see duly set forth in his Pastoral Letter of this current month.

"The next meeting he called was not so successful. It was at a Pensioner's settlement, called Howick. After having stated his plans, and one or two persons having commented on them, up got what on board-ship would be called 'a sea-lawyer,' and asked if he might address the meeting. He was a pensioner, a sergeant, who was once of our communion, but had lately fallen away, and you will hear why, as the story goes on. His speech is a grand instance of the form the grammarians call 'bathos.' He began, 'My Lord, Gentlemen, nurtured as I have been in the British constitution, proud as I am of my Church and State, I want to know what has become of the 40*l.* we pensioners subscribed for a schoolroom five years ago?' The bishop had not come prepared for this 'mare's nest' of course, and he said he would send the account, if he or his clergy had anything to do with it. Taking courage from this discovery that the bishop had not got this matter at his fingers' ends, up jumped another pensioner, and said that the sum was 120*l.* The bishop begged them to nominate two of their body to come to the college and inspect the accounts. This they of course were shrewd enough to refuse. And my friend the sergeant having said that 'this was the point that made him a Dissenter, and militated against the Church,' got up, and with all his colleagues left the room. Next day I inspected the books, and sent them a report, which showed that the schoolhouse which the bishop had put up and the payments for master and books, &c., amounted to 50*l.* instead of 40*l.*, and so left the school in debt to the bishop 10*l.* The accounts had all the names of the subscribers and the sums affixed to their names. Besides this I sent them the whole Howick account for Church matters, and brought them in debtors to the bishop's Church account 400*l.*

"I mention these facts in detail to give you some notion of Colonial Church life in its less interesting and romantic features. There are, you will observe, some hard, coarse, rough scenes to be gone through—such as would astonish an English bishop if he were to come across them. It is just as well that people at home should know that the trials of colonial bishops do not so much consist in the pleasant excitement of walking through the glorious forests and swimming the rivers of New Zealand, or the like, nor in the novelty and refreshment of missionary work among a simple or savage people, but in being brought into contact day by day with the rudest and coarsest spirits of unrestrained colonialism, which vaunts itself and prides itself most especially in saying and doing the most offensive things in the most offensive way. Our bishop has practically exemplified an old saying we used to have at Eton, and I daresay belongs to all parts of our mother-country, 'You must *go on* never minding.'

"Besides these English meetings we had a Maori 'Kōrĕrō,' and I am happy to say that the natives of our neighbourhood are coming round to much more sensible and hopeful plans in accordance with the bishop's and governor's wishes, and have given land for Church purposes. They propose to come and live in a more civilized way, and to adopt the good part of English habits, having hitherto learnt and adopted the bad habits they saw in the town. The old chief promised the bishop to abandon his heathen course, and to prepare for Christianity. His name is Kawau, and he is a most pleasant old gentleman."

In 1854 the bishop had come to England authorized by his people "to take such steps as might be necessary for carrying into effect the wishes of his diocese." It had been suggested "that application should be made either for a Royal Charter or for an Act of the Imperial Parliament, to enable this branch of the English Church to frame laws for its own government." But, as has been already mentioned, the bishop found it impossible to carry out these instructions in the manner proposed.

One result was, however, attained by the bishop: he learned the opinion of the highest legal authorities, that no Act of Parliament rendered illegal the holding of Diocesan Synods within the limits of a colonial See; and at the same time the Governor-General of Canada was informed by the Secretary of State that Her Majesty's Government were by no means satisfied that any statutable aid was necessary for enabling the clergy and laity in that colony to meet by representative bodies for the purpose of making rules for Church affairs.

All prospect alike of imperial legislation and of imperial prohibition being at an end, the bishop invited "the members of the Church, who were willing to administer its property, to associate themselves together on the basis of *mutual compact,* and to establish a representative Governing Body to manage the property of the Church, to apportion its proceeds, to regulate the salaries to be paid to its ministers, and to make such regulations for the extension of the Church system and for the organization of its members as might be practicable, on the basis of property and on the principle of voluntary compact."

The course that had been adopted in Melbourne furnished an example to be shunned: in that colony the members of the Church derive their powers of synodical action entirely from the State; and it was felt that what the legislature had given, the legislature might take away, and that the Synod established under the Melbourne Act held its existence at the will of a body with whom it might have no community of interest, sympathy, or feeling: that if any alteration should be required in the Act, it must be sought from the Colonial Legislature, who would criticise its proceedings in no friendly spirit; that the affairs of the Church, being regulated under civil authority, would at any time be liable to be made, both on the hustings and in the legislature, the subject of party and political debate. It was determined therefore to proceed on the principle of voluntary compact, and to apply to the Colonial Legislature only in the event of legal powers being found necessary to carry the system into effect.

On May 14, 1857, the first conference of the bishops (two in number, viz., Selwyn and Harper), clergy, and laity, was held at Taurarua. On June 5 they presented a Draft Report, showing the grounds on which the Conference had been led to the conclusion that it was expedient to organize the members of the Church of England for the purpose of self-government as a branch of such Church, and the reasons which had influenced the Conference in agreeing to the resolutions which had been passed with a view to that object.

On June 13th, 1857, the Conference put forth with due solemnity the following

"CONSTITUTION for associating together, as a Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Members of the said Church in the Colony of New Zealand, agreed to at a GENERAL CONFERENCE of BISHOPS, CLERGY, and LAITY, assembled at AUCKLAND on the thirteenth day of June, in the year of our LORD 1857.

"**In the Name of GOD—Amen.** WHEREAS it is desirable that the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Colony of New Zealand, should be associated together as a Branch of the said United Church, and that a Representative Body should be constituted for the government of the same. And WHEREAS, until due provision shall be made in that behalf by competent authority, it is desirable that the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland, should, so far as they lawfully may, associate themselves together by voluntary compact, as a Branch of the said United Church, for the ordering of the affairs, the management of the Property, the promotion of the Discipline of the Members thereof, and for the inculcation and maintenance of sound Doctrine and true Religion throughout the Colony, to the glory of ALMIGHTY GOD, and the edification and increase of the Church of CHRIST: *And whereas* the BISHOPS, and certain of the CLERGY and LAITY representing a numerous body of the Members of the said United Church in the Colony of New Zealand, have met in Conference to determine the fundamental principles on which the Members of such Branch of the said Church shall be thus associated together, and for the purpose of deciding on the Constitution, and defining the powers and jurisdiction of the governing body of such Branch of the said Church, and of prescribing the terms and conditions on which the Property of such Branch of the said Church shall be held and administered:

"Now, therefore, the said BISHOPS, CLERGY, and LAITY, IN CONFERENCE ASSEMBLED, *do solemnly declare and establish* as follows:—

"I.—FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS.

"1. This Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand doth hold and maintain the Doctrine and Sacraments of CHRIST as the LORD hath commanded in HIS HOLY WORD, and as the United Church of England and Ireland hath received and explained the same in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. And the General Synod hereinafter constituted for the government of this Branch of the said Church shall also hold and maintain the said Doctrine and Sacraments of CHRIST, and shall have no power to make any alteration in the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures, or in the above-named Formularies of the Church.

"2. *Provided that* nothing herein contained shall prevent the General Synod from accepting any alteration of the above-named Formularies, and version of the Bible, as may from time to time be adopted by the United Church of England and Ireland, with the consent of the Crown and of Convocation.

"3. *Provided also that* in case a Licence be granted by the Crown to this Branch of the Church of England to frame new and modify existing rules (not affecting doctrine) with the view of meeting the peculiar circumstances of this Colony and native people, it shall be lawful for this Branch of the said Church to avail itself of that liberty.

"4. *And Whereas* opinions have been expressed by eminent legal authorities in England that the property of the Church in New Zealand might be placed in jeopardy, unless provision were made for the contingency of a separation of New Zealand from the Mother Country, and for that of an alteration in the existing relations between Church and State; it is hereby further declared that in the event of a separation of the Colony of New Zealand from the Mother Country, or of a separation of the Church from the State in England and Ireland, the General Synod shall have full power to make such alterations in the Articles, Services, and Ceremonies of this Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand as its altered circumstances may require, or to make such alterations as it may think fit in the authorized version of the Bible.

"And the said BISHOPS, CLERGY, and LAITY *do further declare and establish* as follows:—

"5. There shall be a Representative governing Body for the management of the affairs of the Church, to be called the General Synod of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Colony of New Zealand, which shall consist of three distinct Orders, viz., the BISHOPS, the CLERGY, and the LAITY, the consent of all of which Orders shall be necessary to all acts binding upon the Synod, and upon all persons recognising its authority.

"6. The above provisions shall be deemed FUNDAMENTAL, and it shall not be within the power of the General Synod, or of any Diocesan Synod, *to alter, revoke, add to, or diminish any of the same.*

"II.—PROVISIONS NOT FUNDAMENTAL.

"7. There shall be a Meeting of the General Synod at least once in every three years, at such time and place as shall from time to time be prescribed in that behalf by the said General Synod.

"8. The first General Synod shall consist of the Bishops for the time being, and of such and so many Members, having such qualifications, and to be elected in such manner, and for such Districts, as may be prescribed in that behalf by the Conference now assembled.

"9. The General Synod shall from time to time determine at what periods there shall be a new election of the Members of the General Synod.

"10. Every act of the General Synod shall be assented to by a majority of the Members of each of the three Orders, present in person, at a duly constituted meeting.

"11. It shall be lawful for the General Synod to fix any standard of qualification, and to appoint any mode of registration, for the purpose of determining what persons are admissible to take part in the proceedings of any General or Diocesan Synod, or of any Archdeaconry or other Local Board, whether as Electors, Representatives, or Deputies, or in any other manner whatsoever.

"12. No person shall take any part in the proceedings of any General or Diocesan Synod, or of any Archdeaconry or other Local Board, whether as Elector, Representative, or Delegate, or in any other manner whatsoever, who shall have been declared incompetent by any Tribunal acting under the authority of the General Synod, or who shall have declined, when required by the same authority, to sign a declaration of his adhesion and submission to the Provisions of these Presents.

"13. The General Synod shall have full power to determine how and by whom all Patronage shall be exercised, and in what manner and upon what conditions every Clergyman, Trustee, Catechist, Churchwarden, Schoolmaster, or other Office-bearer or Agent, whether Clerical or Lay, shall enter upon the use and occupation of any portion of the Church property held in Trust under the Provisions of these Presents, and in what manner, and upon what conditions, all such Office-bearers, whether Clerical or Lay, shall receive their respective appointments, and the General Synod shall have full power to fix the amount of all salaries, dues, fees, and other emoluments, payable to any person out of the proceeds of any property held by or in Trust for the General Synod.

"14. All Clergymen, Trustees, Catechists, Churchwardens, Schoolmasters, or other Office-bearers or Agents, who shall be so appointed, or who shall receive any income or emolument from or out of the said Trust property, and all Office-bearers who, whether receiving any emolument therefrom or not, shall have consented to hold their appointments under and in conformity with the Provisions of these Presents, shall be liable to be deposed, removed, or suspended from their respective appointments, by the General

Synod, if from any cause whatever the General Synod shall deem it expedient and proper to exercise such power; and whenever any Clergyman, Trustee, Catechist, Churchwarden, Schoolmaster, or other Office-bearer or Agent, whether Clerical or Lay, shall be deposed, removed, or suspended from his appointment, he shall *ipso facto* immediately cease to have or exercise any function or office under the Provisions of these Presents, and shall be absolutely deprived of all the rights, emoluments, stipend, or salary to which by virtue of his appointment he would have been entitled but for such deposition, removal, or suspension, and shall forthwith deliver up to the General Synod, or to Trustees appointed by them, all such Trust property and all such deeds, books, papers, money, and effects belonging and relating thereto, as may then be in his occupation, possession, or power.

"15. The General Synod shall constitute a Tribunal in New Zealand for the purpose of deciding all questions of Doctrine and Discipline; and also, if it think fit, may constitute a Court of Appeal from the decision of such Tribunal.

"16. It shall be lawful for the General Synod to frame such Regulations as shall be found necessary from time to time for the management of the property held subject to the Provisions of these Presents, and for the government of all persons holding office under or receiving emolument from the General Synod, and generally to make all such Regulations as shall be necessary for the order, good government, and efficiency of the said Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"17. It shall be lawful for the General Synod to delegate to any Synod, Board, or Commission, either specifically as the case may require, or under such general regulations as shall from time to time be laid down by the General Synod, all or any of the powers conferred upon the General Synod by these Presents.

"18. It shall be lawful for the General Synod to alter, amend, or repeal all or any of the Provisions of these Presents, save and except the Provisions which have been hereinbefore declared to be *Fundamental*.

"19. The General Synod of this Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland may associate with itself any Missionary Dioceses which may be formed among the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean.

"20. For the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of these Presents, a governing Body or Diocesan Synod shall be formed in each Diocese, upon the same principle as the General Synod, consisting of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity within such Diocese; and such Diocesan Synod shall, as far as possible, be similar in form and in mode of action to the General Synod.

"21. Such Diocesan Synod may exercise within the limits of the Diocese all the powers of the General Synod not inconsistent with or repugnant to any Regulation of the General Synod.

"22. Any Regulation assented to by all the Diocesan Synods, with a view to its acquiring the force of a Regulation of the General Synod, shall be taken and deemed to be, and shall have the force of, a Regulation of the General Synod.

"23. *Provided always that* no such Regulation shall repeal or alter any of the Provisions of these Presents.

"24. The General Synod shall have power to make any Regulation controlling, altering, repealing, or superseding any Regulation which may have been made by any Diocesan Synod.

"25. Saving any rights of the Church and of the Crown, the nomination of a Bishop shall proceed from the Diocesan Synod, and, if sanctioned by the General Synod, shall be submitted by the General Synod to the authorities in Church and State in England for their favourable consideration.

"26. All property, real or personal, to be conveyed to the General Synod, or to Trustees on behalf of the General Synod, shall be held upon Trust, that such General Synod or Trustees shall and do stand seised and possesssed of and interested in the same, or otherwise shall and do convey, settle, assure or assign the same upon and for or according to such trusts, intents, and purposes, and under and subject to such powers, provisoes, declarations, and agreements, and in such manner and for such objects and purposes, whether Religious, Missionary, Ecclesiastical, Collegiate, Scholastic, or Charitable, as the General Synod of this Branch of the United Church of England and

Ireland in New Zealand shall from time to time direct or appoint in writing under the hand of any person authorized by the General Synod in that behalf, subject however to any special covenants and declarations of Trust imposed by any Founder, Donor, Testator, or other Benefactor, which shall have been assented to by the General Synod or by any Board or other person authorized by the General Synod in that behalf.

"27. The General Synod or any Board or Commission constituted by the General Synod in that behalf, shall, for the purposes of "the Religious, Charitable, and Educational Trusts Act, 1856," be deemed to be a body duly constituted to represent the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland referred to in these Presents.

"28. Every Trustee in whom any property, real or personal, shall be vested either solely or jointly with any other persons or person for or on behalf of the General Synod, shall hold the same with the powers and subject to the limitations, restrictions, declarations, and provisoes contained in the several clauses of the Schedule hereunto annexed, and any Board or Commission appointed by the General Synod for that purpose shall possess and may exercise all or any of the powers vested in the General Synod as shall be by the General Synod in that behalf prescribed.

"29. The Doctrines which shall from time to time be taught or inculcated by the Bishops, Clergy, Catechists, Schoolmasters, and others, wholly or partially endowed or maintained by the proceeds of property held subject to the Provisions of these Presents, and the Doctrines which shall, from time to time, be taught or inculcated in any churches or chapels, whether cathedral, parochial, collegiate, or missionary, and in any colleges, or schools, which shall be either wholly or partially built out of funds derived from the property held subject to the Provisions of these Presents, or upon sites held by Trustees appointed in the manner herein specified, shall not, nor shall any such Doctrines, be repugnant to the Doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland as the same are explained and contained in the Thirty-nine Articles and in the Book of Common Prayer, and in the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and it shall be the duty of all Trustees, appointed pursuant to the Provisions of these Presents, to obey all instructions issued to them by or on behalf of the General Synod, for the purpose of guarding, as far as possible, against any Trust property, or proceeds therefrom, being so applied or disposed of as to promote the teaching or inculcation of any Doctrine repugnant to that of the United Church of England and Ireland as so explained.

"30. No Clergyman, Trustee, Catechist, Churchwarden, Schoolmaster, or other Office-bearer or Agent, shall be admitted to any office under the Provisions of these Presents, or be entitled to receive any income, emolument, or benefit from or out of any property held under the same, unless and until he shall have signed a Declaration of his adhesion and submission to the Provisions of these Presents in the form following:—

"I, A. B., do declare my submission to the authority of the General Synod of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand, established by a Constitution agreed to on the 13th day of June, 1857, and my consent to be bound by all the Provisions of the said Constitution, and by all the Regulations which may from time to time be issued by the authority of the said General Synod; and I hereby undertake in consideration of being appointed   immediately to resign my appointment, together with all the rights and emoluments appertaining thereto, whenever I shall be called on so to do by the General Synod, or by any person or persons lawfully acting under the authority of the General Synod in that behalf.

"Given under my hand this   day of   18   , in the presence of

"31. Any doubt which shall arise in the interpretation of these Presents, or of the Constitution for the time being of this Branch of the said Church, shall be submitted for final decision to the General Synod, or to some Tribunal to be constituted by the General Synod in that behalf.

"32. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed or construed to take away, abridge, or prejudicially affect any right of any member of the United Church of England and Ireland, except so far as any such right may be affected by the recognition, on the part of such person, of the authority of the General Synod, and by his submission to these Presents."

"SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO.

"1. The General Synod may from time to time, by writing under the hand of any person authorized by it in that behalf, appoint a Trustee or Trustees for the whole or any portion of the property held in Trust; and may from time to time, as often as it shall think proper, by any such writing cancel and revoke every such appointment, and may appoint another Trustee or other Trustees in the place of all or any one or more of the Trustees named in, or hereafter to be appointed by or on behalf of the General Synod.

"2. Any Trustees or Trustee may, by the direction of the General Synod, sell, and absolutely dispose of, either together or in parcels, and either by public sale or private contract, all or any part of the said Trust property in respect of which no Trust shall have been created inconsistent with the exercise of this present power; or by the like direction may exchange the said property, or any part thereof, for any other freehold hereditaments situate in the Colony of New Zealand; and give (out of any money in their hands applicable to such purpose) or receive any money by way of equality of exchange, and may execute all such conveyances as may be requisite for effectuating such sale or exchange.

"3. Provided always that all money arising from such sale, or received by any Trustees or Trustee for equality of exchange as aforesaid, after payment of the costs and expenses payable by such Trustees or Trustee in relation to such sale or exchange, shall be expended in the absolute purchase of other freehold lands or hereditaments in New Zealand, or in such other investment as the General Synod shall direct.

"4. All property which shall be so purchased or received in exchange as aforesaid, shall be held by the Trustees or Trustee in whom it shall become vested upon such Trusts as the property so to be sold or given in exchange was held subject to.

"5. Any Trustees or Trustee may from time to time, by any deed, lease any portion of the Trust property vested in them or him, in respect of which no direction or appointment shall have been made by the General Synod, or no Trust created inconsistent with the exercise of this present power, to any person or persons, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years in possession and not in reversion, at such rent and subject to such covenants and provisoes as they the said Trustees or Trustee may deem reasonable, and may apply the rents of the property so leased to the purposes to which the annual income or proceeds of the Trust property shall for the time being be properly applicable.

"6. The receipt in writing of any Trustees or Trustee or of any Agent duly authorized in that behalf, shall be a good and effectual discharge for all money paid to them or him under or by virtue of these Presents, and shall exonerate the person or persons paying such money from all obligation of seeing to the application thereof, and from all liability on account of the loss, misapplication, or non-application thereof, and it shall not be incumbent on any purchaser or other person to or with whom such sale, exchange, or lease as aforesaid shall be made, to inquire as to the necessity for or propriety of such sale, exchange, or lease, or whether any direction for such sale, exchange, or lease shall have been given by the General Synod.

"7. Every Trustee shall be chargeable for such money only as he shall actually have received, although he shall have joined in any receipt for money received by any co-Trustee, and shall not be answerable for the act of any co-Trustee, or for any loss which may arise by reason of any Trust money being deposited in the hands of any banker or agent, or from the insufficiency or deficiency of any security upon which the Trust money, or any part thereof, may be invested, nor for any loss in the execution of the Trust, unless the same shall happen through his own wilful neglect or default.

"The above Constitution for associating together as a Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland the Members of the said Church in the Colony of New Zealand was agreed to at a General Conference of BISHOPS, CLERGY, and LAITY, assembled in St. Stephen's Chapel, Auckland, on the thirteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

"In witness whereof we the said Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, have hereunto subscribed our hands.

"G. A. New Zealand,
H. J. C. Christchurch,
Henry Williams,
William Williams,
R. B. Paul,
A. N. Brown,
Octavius Hadfield,
C. J. Abraham,
G. A. Kissling,
James Wilson.

E. W. Stafford,
Frederick Whitaker,
Henry John Tancred,
William Swainson,
T. M. Haultain,
R. K. Prendergast,
Thomas Hirst."

From this document, which was under obligations to the American Church, all branches of the Anglican Communion, notably the Church in Ireland, have learned much. For the purpose of enabling the bishop legally to transfer to the Synodical trustees property which had been vested hitherto in himself as a corporation sole, it was necessary to obtain an Act of the Legislature. This became law in July 1858, and the Synod was so far recognised by the Colonial Legislature.

It was determined that the General Synod of New Zealand should meet triennially, and its first session was held at Wellington on March 9, 1859.

The Bishop's Address on this so important an occasion was a masterly production, and has a lasting interest. It records his own struggles, his loyalty to the Mother Church, which in no degree blinded him to its shortcomings, the results, not of inherent defects, but of accidental circumstances, and his aspirations and plans for the Church of New Zealand.

"The present meeting, my dear brethren, is the fulfilment of hopes which have been cherished by many of us during a period of fifteen years. In the year 1844 the first Synod of the Diocese of New Zealand was held at the Waimate, but, in the uncertainty which prevailed on the subject of Church-government in the Colonies, many high authorities in England censured our proceedings as illegal. Being well aware that this opinion was unfounded, I was not deterred from convening a second Synod at St. John's College, Auckland, in the year 1847, at which I read a correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, containing a proposal for a Church Constitution, in which the three Orders of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity should be associated on the basis of voluntary compact.

"The Diocesan Synods of 1844 and 1847 were exclusively clerical, but, from the time of the meeting of the Synod of 1847, efforts began to be made, and have never since been intermitted, with a view to the admission of Lay Representatives. The Conference of the six Bishops of the Province of Australasia, held at Sydney in the year 1850, unanimously recommended a Constitution, in which the Laity should be associated with the Bishops and Clergy.

"In order to remove from our proceedings even the suspicion of illegality, attempts were made to procure from the English Legislature a recognition of the right of the Colonial Bishops to convene Synods for the management of their own diocesan affairs. Three bills for this purpose were brought forward in successive Sessions of the British Parliament, but, one after the other, they all fell to the ground. In the meantime, a change of opinion took place among the legal authorities in England, and the question settled down upon its present basis, that, as the Colonial Churches must have laws for their own government, and as neither the Church nor the State at home can make laws for them, they must be left free to legislate for themselves.

"Another question then arose whether the Colonial Legislature ought not to be applied to, to give a Constitution to our branch of the Church of England; and this opinion was strengthened by the fact that the Synods in Canada and Melbourne seemed to have adopted this course. Comparisons began to be drawn between a voluntary Association such as we have formed, and a Church established by law. The full discussion of this subject would occupy too much of your time, but a few remarks will be enough to show that we have not acted unadvisedly in avoiding, as much as possible, all application to the Colonial Legislature. If we had accepted an Act, investing us with power over all persons, so far as they are Ministers or Members of the Church of England, we must at once have come into collision with the Church Missionary Society, which still retains in its own hands full powers of government over one-half of the clergy of the Northern Island: we must have said at once to all those Lay Members who have not yet joined us, 'You can be no longer Members of our Church, unless you accept our Constitution and obey our laws.' To recognize the power of the Colonial Legislature to enact a new definition of Church Membership would have been to assume the part to be equal to the whole, for how can one Colony of the British Empire settle the question, 'What is a Member of the Church of England?' The Constitution given to us in one Session of the General Assembly might be altered or repealed by another: questions of the deepest interest to ourselves, and which ought to be discussed only in the solemn Synods of the Church, such as the test of Communion, and the veto of one Order on the other two, might become the subjects of political agitation. In short we should incur all the liabilities of a Church established by law, while at the same time, in the eye of the Colonial Legislature, we should be only as one of many denominations, all equal to one another.

"These and many more reasons of a like kind induced the Conference which assembled at Auckland in 1857 to concur in founding our Church Constitution on the basis of mutual and voluntary compact. And it is with the deepest thankfulness that I acknowledge the wonderful Providence of God, which has already given to our first meeting so many of the essential characteristics of a Synod of the Church. Who would ever have thought that four Bishops would have met together here, and that one of our most solemn acts would be the Consecration of a fifth: or that the present body of Clergy would represent sixty of their Order? It is but five-and-forty years since the first Missionary landed in New Zealand, and but twenty since the Colony was formed. All this wonderful change has been accomplished within the lifetime of many who are here present. Surely 'this is the finger of God,' and this is the ground of our assurance that He is with us in our present work; and that He will effectually accomplish what He has so wonderfully begun.

"There is but one doubt of any importance, which I have heard expressed on the subject of Church Constitutions, and that is, that we may be tempted to rely on mere external and material organization, instead of resting on the one foundation-stone of Jesus Christ, and seeking for the quickening influences of His Holy Spirit. But is not this a danger inseparable from our mixed nature in its fallen state? As the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and these are contrary the one to the other, so must everything that is outward and visible endanger the purity and vitality of that which is spiritual. However precious may be the ointment, a dead fly might cause it to stink. The brazen serpent might be made into an idol. The sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb might become an empty form. The temple of the Lord might be made a den of thieves. The word of God may be the letter that killeth, instead of the Spirit that giveth life: the savour of death unto death, instead of the savour of life unto life. We may have the form of godliness while we deny the power thereof. The tables of stone may draw away our thoughts from the Holy Law of God written on the tables of the heart. Prayer, Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, every ordinance that has a form of words or an outward sign, is liable to the same danger; and even where no form of words is used, the lips may still draw near to God, while the heart is far from Him. If every Sacramental sign were removed, formality would still grow up from the dead heart within.

"The danger, then, which is feared, of trusting to external organization, rather than to the inward life of the Spirit, is not peculiar to our present work, but is the besetting danger attendant upon every religious ordinance, and common to the Church at large, and to all its Members. It would be vain, then, to seek for spiritual life by rejecting outward organization. By God's appointment, the spirit and the flesh are linked together, and man cannot put asunder what God hath joined. The Saviour of the world was not deterred from anointing the blind man's eyes with clay by any fear lest the virtue should be ascribed rather to the clay than to Himself. The miracle of the loaves was not less likely to be impressive because the multitude was arranged in order by fifties and hundreds, or because the fragments that remained were carefully gathered up. The foolish Martha who had everything to think of and everything to do at the actual moment of her Lord's coming, was not more likely to be spiritually-minded than the provident Mary, who had trimmed her lamp and set her house in order, and done her share of the work beforehand, and was ready at a moment when He came, to sit at His feet. The Gospel, even when preached by the Apostles, was likely to be hindered, if occasion were given to the Grecians to murmur that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. That some might be able to give themselves continually to prayer and to the Ministry of the Word, it was necessary that others should be appointed to serve tables. The whole consideration of the subject of spiritual gifts in the 14th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians is closed with the warning that God is not the author of confusion, but of peace: and that all things ought to be done decently and in order. A man's ability to rule his own house was to be taken as one sign of his fitness to take care of the Church of God.

"No, my brethren, not one of us will ever think that out of the mere dry bones which we frame together we can constitute a living creature: but we all believe that our Heavenly Father, of His own free love, and for the merits of His dear Son, and in answer to our prayers offered up in His name, will pour down his Holy Spirit upon our hearts, to unite this our body with Christ our head; and all its members in the bond of peace; that the whole body being fitly framed together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, may make increase unto the edifying of itself in love. We trust to that quickening Spirit to make us lively stones, built up as a spiritual house upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.

"In order that our Church may grow into an Holy Temple in the Lord, it must be fitly framed, and we must be builded together. When the wall of Jerusalem was built, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so he builded: every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon. But the temple was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building. So far from needing weapons, they did not need even a tool. May our work be of the same kind. We can have no enemies from without; we ought to have no enmities from within. We shall not have to cut and shape our stones to fit them into spaces narrowed up by private interests or vested rights of property: we may take them at once as they have been made ready for us in God's Holy Word: and build without regard to any other model than the example of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles.

"Do we then boast ourselves against our Mother Church in thus abandoning some parts of her present system? On the contrary, we desire, as faithful children, to show, so far as God may give us grace, how glorious she might have been in the purity of her doctrines, and in the holiness of her liturgy, if she had been released from those chains, from which the peculiar circumstances of the Colonial Church have set us free. The abuses of private patronage, the sale of spiritual offices, inequality of incomes, the failure of all corrective discipline over the beneficed clergy, the heart-rending injustice of dilapidations, all springing from the same root of private property, these are no part of the Church of England, and they must have no place here. We should be guilty indeed, if, with our eyes open, and a free choice before us, we should engraft upon our new Branch of the Church of England the same abuses, against which the Preachers of St. Paul's Cross and Whitehall remonstrated in vain.

"You will forgive me if I detain you a little longer upon this point, because I should feel most acutely any imputation of disloyalty to our Mother Church. I wish you to feel with me, that our Constitution simply proposes to remove those abuses which have been encrusted upon her system, and which for many years back, even the State in England has been endeavouring to reform. It would be tedious to recite all the Acts of Parliament which have been passed to undo the faulty work of former ages, and to bring the Church into that system with which we purpose to begin. The equalization of the incomes of Bishoprics, the suspension of Canonries for the better maintenance of the Parochial Ministry, the facilities afforded for the division of Parishes, these and other Acts of the same kind, all recognise the existence of evils, which the State in England labours arter its own fashion to remedy, but which it is our duty to prevent. We are bound to strive, and to pray, that our Church may be holy and without blemish. We must give good heed that the wheat which we sow in our new soil be free from tares.

"I shall now lay before you as briefly as possible the various subjects which seem to require your attention; and if in some instances I shall accompany the statement with practical advice, you will not, I am sure, suspect me of any wish to dictate to the Synod any peculiar system; for I trust that we have met here in a spirit of counsel, and that we shall be ready to give up or modify our private opinions when we find that they are opposed to those of a majority of our brethren.

"It may at once be assumed, that frequent meetings of the General Synod ought not to be necessary: and with this view ample powers of delegation have been reserved to it by the Deed of Constitution. These powers will have to be used to bring into operation two classes of Trusts: the one representing the General Synod itself, and competent to discharge certain of its functions: the other invested with powers of local administration under the authority of the General Synod.

"I.—First Class, of Standing Trusts representing the General Synod:—

"1. The first of these will be a board for the determination of questions of Reference brought up by appeal from any Diocesan Synod, or other subordinate administration.

"2. The second will be a Board of Appointment, to exercise the powers of the General Synod, in appointing new Trustees, and in confirming all elections to spiritual offices.

"II.—The Second Class, of Trusts invested with powers of local administration under the authority of the General Synod:—

"1. The First and most important of this class of Trusts will be the Diocesan Synods: the Constitution of which will require careful consideration.

"2. The Second will be the Archdeaconry or Rural Deanery Boards, which though now rendered of less importance by the subdivision of the country into several Dioceses, may still be found of use.

"3. The Third, the Parochial Trusts, including Churchwardens, Parochial Committees, &c.

"4. The Fourth, all Special Trusts, such as those now in operation for the support of Colleges, Native Schools, and for the management of Property held in Trust for special purposes.

"In constituting these various Trusts, it will be necessary that you should select the Trustees and issue instructions for their guidance.

"In the selection of Trustees of the second class you will, I have no doubt, accept, in most cases, the recommendation of the local representatives. The right principle for our guidance seems to be contained in the words of the Twelve in Acts vi. 3, 'Brethren, look *ye* out among you . . . men of honest report . . . whom *we* may appoint over this business.' The General Synod will act wisely in appointing men who possess the confidence of their own neighbours.

"The same principle will apply to all spiritual offices. The Board of Appointment must not interfere needlessly with the Bishop and his Synod. But there are cases in which its powers will be brought into operation: as, for example, when the Diocesan Synod cannot agree with any congregation on the election of a minister, in which a reference ought to be made to the Board representing the General Synod, whose appointment should be final. But the highest duty of the Board of Appointment will be to take effectual care that no simoniacal contracts, or corrupt practices, be allowed to interfere with the simple rule of putting the right man in the right place. Their office will be like that of the prophets and teachers at Antioch, to separate the Ministers of Christ for the work to which they believe the Holy Ghost has called them. It cannot be consistent with the right discharge of this plain duty that money, upon any pretext or in any manner, should have any weight or influence in the appointment to a spiritual office.

"I think that we shall all agree in leaving the Diocesan

Synods as much freedom of action as possible, subject, however, to a few general rules to secure uniformity of action among the various Dioceses in matters of primary importance.

"The first of these is in the appointment of Clergymen. This power might, I think, be well vested in a Diocesan Board, composed of the Bishop as Chairman, *ex officio*, and two Clergymen and two Laymen elected by the Diocesan Synod. It might be a standing instruction to the Board, upon the vacancy of any cure, to call for a Deputation of the Parishioners, and to concur with them in making a new appointment, or, if the two parties should be unable to agree, then to refer the question to the Board of Appointment acting in behalf of the General Synod. If the new appointment should involve the removal of a clergyman from a Parish to which he is already engaged, then a Deputation also from that Parish should be invited to attend. It ought, I think, to be a valid ground of objection on the part of any Parish to the removal of their Clergyman, that he is maintained by them at the full scale of income to which he is entitled. Parishes ought not to be allowed to compete with one another for popular Clergymen by holding out inducements of greater emolument. All such practices are contrary to the nature of a spiritual office, and degrading to the clerical character.

"The second duty of the Diocesan Synod, which I will mention, is to provide for the maintenance of the Clergy, and, on this point, a general uniformity of system is also desirable. A few fundamental principles have always been kept in view in the Diocese of New Zealand, and I would recommend them to your consideration, as already tested by many years' experience:

"1. That the maintenance of the Clergy should be supplied partly from Endowment Funds, and partly by voluntary contributions.

"2. That the Incomes of the Clergy should be regulated by an equitable scale.

"3. That a Clergyman maintained at the full scale of income be expected to give his undivided services to the work to which he is appointed.

"4. That no Clergyman be considered as permanently located in any Parish, in which the Parishioners do not supply that portion of his income which depends upon voluntary contributions.

"I believe that I may appeal to several of my brethren here present to confirm my statement, that this system, after many difficulties, is now being carried out in several Parishes with great regularity.

"The third duty of the Diocesan Synod will be to establish a Tribunal for the trial of all charges against Clergymen or other office-bearers of the Church. In the case of a Clergyman I would recommend that the Tribunal be composed of the Bishop, three Clergymen, and one Lay Assessor. In the case of a Lay Office-Bearer, the number of Clergy and Laity might be reversed. The forms of procedure for all such Diocesan Tribunals ought, I think, to be prescribed by the General Synod. The appeal from the Diocesan Tribunal to the Board representing the General Synod has already been spoken of.

"The fourth duty of the Diocesan Synod will be to define Parishes. But the General Synod ought to lay down the principle upon which Parishes are to be first defined, and afterwards, if necessary, divided from time to time. The Parish should resemble the sheepfold, in having boundaries well marked and known for the time being, but easy to be removed. We must strictly guard against the introduction of a system in which, from a jealous respect for the rights of property, fifty or even a hundred thousand souls have been left under the nominal charge of one clergyman. It will be easy now for the General Synod to lay down a rule, that whenever the members of the Church in any parish shall be found to exceed a certain number, it shall be the duty of the Diocesan Synod to alter the boundaries; and to divide the endowment fund of the old parish in due proportions between the two or more parishes which shall be formed out of it. This subdivision of parishes in the Archdeaconry of Waitemata has been so far carried out, that no clergyman has more than one thousand members of the Church under his charge. Many of these parishes have endowment funds, all administered by a common Trust, in which every parish has its own representative Trustee, and therefore readily admitting of a new apportionment, if any parish should require to be divided.

"I come now to the subject of the Tenure of the landed Property of the Church. It is well known to all here present that I have been hitherto the sole Trustee of all the Church lands in the English settlements in New Zealand, with the exception of Canterbury and Otago. I undertook this heavy responsibility, and have borne the increasing burden for sixteen years, with the single object of excluding all vested rights and private interests, which would have stood in the way of the free action of the General Synod of the Church. I now lay upon the table the terrier of more than 14,000 acres of land, secured to the Church by about 100 Crown grants, and devoted for ever to the support of religion and Christian education; and under the powers vested in me, by an Act of the last General Assembly, I say to this Synod,—Take these properties, and use them as you please, within the limits of the Trusts, and may God guide you to a right use of His bounty.

"The reconstitution of the Trusts which I now surrender will require considerable care, and on this point I feel it to be my duty to offer some practical suggestions.

"The Transfer of the Trusts.—The first business of the Synod will be to elect persons to act as Trustees. The Secretary of the Synod must then ascertain whether those persons will be willing to accept the Trusts. I shall then have to execute conveyances to each set of Trustees of such portions of the Church property as will be held in Trust by them. The Trustees, on accepting the Trust, must sign a deed of submission to the authority of the General Synod. All the Trusts will be thus brought within the provisions of the Religious and Charitable Trusts Act of 1856; and new Trustees can be appointed from time to time by the Board of Appointment holding authority under the General Synod.

"The property of the Church may be classed under the following heads:—

"1. Sites of Churches and Burial Grounds.—For the tenure of property of this class, I should advise that all the churches and burial grounds, within convenient limits, such as an Archdeaconry or Rural Deanery, should be held by one set of Trustees, responsible to the General and Diocesan Synods, but not under the authority of the Parochial Committees.

"The advantages of this plan are manifold. The properties so held in one Trust might mutually insure one another, by a small annual payment made by the Churchwardens of each parish; the proceeds of all the burial grounds arising from fees and sales of vaults would maintain a Curator to improve all the grounds. A building fund might be accumulated by a small payment from each parish; by which, at the end of a certain number of years, each parish might be assisted to rebuild its church. The care of the fabric of the churches being a part of the Archdeacon's duty, I think that he ought in all cases to be *ex officio* one of the Trustees to hold sites of churches and burial grounds.

"2. Parsonage Houses and Glebes.—Some confusion is apt to arise on the subject of Glebes. Glebe land may either mean land given for the actual use and occupation of the clergyman; or, land to be let as an endowment for his maintenance. In respect of land actually used and occupied by the clergyman, with consent of the Diocesan Synod, including the site of the parsonage house, it may be thought well that the clergyman should be his own Trustee, upon signing the usual deed of submission to the authority of the General Synod. He will thereby approximate as closely as can be desired to the status of a beneficed clergyman in England, but with this difference, that he will not be able to avail himself of a freehold tenure to defy the authority of the Church. As a Trustee he will be subject to all the conditions of the Trust, one of which ought to be that he shall be bound to keep the parsonage in repair. Care ought to be taken that delapidations shall be repaired during the lifetime of the Incumbent, and not left to be paid for after his death.

"3. Glebes for endowment, on the contrary, ought, I think, to be held by the Trustees of the Endowment Fund. There can be no advantage in the Clergyman and his Parishioners being connected by the relations of landlord and tenant. He will generally get less than his due, and even that at the price of much ill-will. Besides, if the principle of a Diocesan Scale of Income be adopted by the Synod, Clergymen will not in all cases be entitled to receive the whole rent of the glebe. It will be seen at once, how this will facilitate the division of Parishes, and exchanges between Clergymen from one Parish to another. The cases in which such exchanges are desirable are when Clergymen are no longer equal to the charge of populous and laborious parishes. In such cases no difficulty on the score of income ought to stand in the way of an exchange to a more suitable sphere of duty.

"4. Cathedral Property.—The valuable Estate known as the Cathedral Ground at Auckland will be surrendered to the General Synod, in Trust that the proceeds shall be applied to the permanent endowment of Bishoprics within the Islands of New Zealand; to the building of Cathedral Churches, in which the members of the Church residing in the distant parts of the country shall have places allotted to them, when they come to the Cathedral City; to assist in building and repairing Bishops' houses; in maintaining candidates for Holy Orders; in defraying the expenses of meetings of Synods, Registration, Visitations of Bishops and Archdeacons, and in general to such uses as belong rather to the Diocesan than to the Parochial system. I would advise the Synod to constitute a separate Trust for this Property: and to take care, that if possible, the interests of all the New Zealand Dioceses shall be represented in it.

"5. Collegiate Property.—I have carefully abstained from all attempts to incorporate Colleges under charters or statutes granted by the Colonial Legislature. It seems to be impossible in a new country to frame statutes to provide for every change of circumstances which may occur. For example, since the departure of the present Bishop of Wellington, St. John's College has remained without a Principal. I have used the discretion vested in me by the donors of the College Estates to apply part of the proceeds to the maintenance of Scholars in other Church Schools; and part to the improvement of the Estates. The buildings in like manner have not been useless, but have been occupied every summer by the scholars of the Melanesian Mission: and the College Chapel has been the place where the natives of many islands have offered up their first prayers in the House of God. I would recommend that the same latitude of discretion be granted to the new Trustees of the College properties, to use them to the best advantage, according to circumstances, to promote sound learning and religious education, reporting to the General Synod, at its periodical meetings, the details of their system and of their accounts. Two such Trusts would be required. One for Trinity College, Porirua, and another for St. John's College, with its affiliated Grammar School at Auckland.

"6. Native Education.—It appears from the original letter of Sir George Grey, that he intended the present Boards of Education to come under the authority of the General Synod. The Native Education Act, passed in the last session of the General Assembly, makes no change in the government of the Native Schools, as at present carried on under the three religious bodies. At present, the system of Native Education in connexion with the Church of England is cumbered with this difficulty, that the Funds granted out of the revenue of the country have been administered by the two Boards of Education, but the Lands are vested in the Bishop alone; and yet the objects of both Trusts are the same; for the lands were given expressly to make the schools self-supporting, and so to supersede the grants of money. If the Synod were to re-appoint the present Boards of Education, and also vest in them the School Estates, which I now surrender, both branches of the work would be brought under the same government. The Auckland Board of Education would administer Estates at St. Stephen's, Kohanga, Tukupoto, and Otawhao; and the Southern Board at Te Aute, Whanganui, Papawai, and Kai-kokiri-kiri. The Native School Estate at Otaki is devoted to the same purposes, but is held in trust by the Church Missionary Society. No Crown Grant has yet been issued for the School Estate at Wairengahika, near Turanga.

"7. There are also some pieces of Land held in Trust by me for the Melanesian Mission, which I purpose to retain till the Island Bishop shall have been constituted and the Bishop shall have associated himself with the General Synod. You are probably aware that a sum of money sufficient in itself for the endowment of this Bishopric has already been invested in the English Funds.

"The last subject, which it is my duty to submit to your careful consideration, is the constitution of the General Synod itself; and I have placed it last, because if you should be inclined to take the various subjects of discussion in the order in which I have arranged them in this opening address, this, which is in some respects the most important subject of all, will not be brought under consideration till all the Bishops and many other members now absent shall have assembled.

"Many of you are well aware that it was not without anxious deliberation that the Conference resolved unanimously to authorize this Synod to be convened, and drew up a deed of Constitution for that purpose. That Constitution will be found to contain nothing more than has been agreed to again and again at public meetings, held periodically, of the members of the Church in all the English settlements during the last ten years. With the exception of the two fundamental points of adhesion to the Doctrines of the Church of England, and the Constitution of the General Synod with the Three orders of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, every question of Church government is open to the consideration of the present meeting.

"The first question affecting the Constitution of the Synod, which will naturally engage your attention, will be the Qualification of Electors. I would deprecate the use of the word Church Membership, because, as a voluntary Society, we cannot confer rights of Church Membership upon those who join us, nor deny them to those who stand aloof. The test which we ought to require is the declaration of a willingness to obey the Laws of the Synod, which the Elector through his Representative will concur in making. And here the value of the three orders is apparent, for every member of the Church may rest assured that no law can be made to which a majority of his own order has not consented.

"This limitation of the Electoral Franchise will require an Electoral Roll, with certain persons duly appointed to add to it from time to time the names of new Electors. It will be the duty of the Secretary of the General Synod to forward to these persons timely notice of all Elections, and to issue Voting Papers, if that should be the mode of Election which you adopt. In short, the Representative system of the General Synod will require to be worked with the greatest care, through a known and registered body of Electors, increasing daily, as we may hope, in numbers, in proportion as information is diffused, and interest awakened, by the actual working of the General Synod. For, while I admit that the number of Electors who have voted for Representatives to the present Synod is but small, yet I cannot agree with those who argue that therefore the time for Synodical action is not yet come. On the contrary, after grinding in the mill of public meetings for ten tedious years of hope deferred, I have come to the conclusion that nothing but the actual meeting of the Synod itself would ever have awakened a general interest among the great body of our professing members. The plain truth is this, that we have been so long accustomed to have everything done for us, that we are very slow at coming to the conclusion that, in our Colonial Church, we have everything to do for ourselves.

"After fixing the qualification of Electors you will have to consider the Qualification for Lay Representatives, and, in fixing this, I do most earnestly hope that we shall not recede from the standard adopted by the Conference, of members in full communion with the Church of England. You will accept my assurance that this recommendation is made in no exclusive spirit, but with the earnest prayer that the Spirit of God may so bless our united work, that through the means of grace conveyed to our brethren in these earthen vessels, and distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land, many devout communicants may be yearly added to the Church, and so be prepared to join us in seeking for the spirit of counsel in communion with God and with Christ.

"I would draw your attention further to the Qualification of Clergymen. You will have to consider whether any Clergymen should be members of the Synod *ex officio*, as, for example, Archdeacons acting *ex officio* as Trustees of Endowment Funds. You will have to distinguish between Clergymen regularly licensed, and holding Church offices; and other Clergymen licensed generally to perform Divine Service, but holding offices not immediately connected with the Church: and other Clergymen again, who are neither licensed, nor hold any office, but live as ordinary settlers. It will be a question also for you to decide, whether Deacons shall be admitted to the same privileges as Presbyters. In whatever manner these questions may be settled, we shall require an official List of Clergy duly qualified to take part in the proceedings of any General or Diocesan Synod. My own idea of a distinction would be that every licensed Clergyman, whether Presbyter or Deacon, might claim to be entered upon the List by right, and that every unlicensed Clergyman of irreproachable life and character may be entered if proposed and accepted at a meeting of any Diocesan Synod.

"The Minor points, of the time and place of meeting of the General Synod, the manner in which it is to be convened; the payment of the expenses of the Synod itself, and of the attendance of its members; the best mode of authenticating its proceedings will not escape your notice, but they require no further remark.

"But there is one subject more under this head of the Constitution of the General Synod, which I must not omit: and that is the consideration of the best mode of drawing our Native brethren into closer bonds of Christian fellowship with ourselves. I have already mentioned that an Endowment both in money and land has been provided for the Melanesian Bishopric: and let us never rest satisfied till the Bishop of the Isles has taken his seat among us. Already it has pleased God that our field of view should be extended over seventy or eighty islands; and our work will not be done till twice that number of heathen Islands shall have received the message of salvation. To make this work our own, to identify it with the duty of our branch of the Church, to form systematic plans and to carry out regular efforts for its support, will be a part of our proceedings upon which I do not anticipate one dissentient voice.

"But to come nearer home, upon the same line of thought I must draw your attention to the state of the Native Church of New Zealand. And first to one subject claiming our unmingled thankfulness, that I hope soon to receive a Commission to consecrate to the office of a Bishop one whose age and experience has often made me feel ashamed that I should have been preferred before him, and to whom I have long wished to be allowed to make this reparation, by dividing with him the duties and responsibilities of my office.

"The great object for which the Missionary Diocese of

Turanga (=Waiapu) has been constituted is to widen the basis of Native Ordination. At present it is impossible not to feel some doubts of the future stability of the Native Church. My recent journey through the Mission Stations has left me in a balanced state between hope and fear. The thought of the populous districts of Whakatane, Opotiki, Waiapu, and Taranaki, all left without a resident Missionary, would be one of unmingled sorrow, if we did not see the fruits of the Divine Blessing upon the Mission now appearing, in the faithful men of the Native race who have already been ordained, or are now passing through their probation for the Ministry. We must feel that, when half the human race in Africa, India, and China is still unconverted, we cannot expect more men from England to take care of our 50,000 souls. But why should we desire foreign corn, when our own native fields are white already to the harvest? Our lot has fallen in a fair ground, yea we have a goodly heritage. We are the tillers of a field which the Lord has blessed.

"This is the bright gleam of hope which cheers the sadness of our Missionary journeyings. It cannot be that all this work of grace should have been wrought in vain. If we pass through deserted hamlets, where the aged men and women who welcomed us in former years have passed away, leaving no child, the thought arises, that though they have passed from earth, yet not one of them is lost. If we see the signs of a decaying faith, and of a love that waxes cold, in the ruined chapel and its grass-grown path, we have but to look to the tombs around it, for there lie those who have gone to their rest in Jesus, dying in the fervour of their first love, and infants cut off like flowers in the morning, with the fresh dew of baptismal grace upon their hearts; there the first evangelists to their heathen countrymen wait for their Lord's return to call them to enter into His joy. If we see the native youth departing from the example of their fathers, given to self-indulgence, drunkenness and sloth; we see, on the other hand, that through this furnace of temptation, as in our own schools and colleges in England, God's chosen servants are being trained and proved for the ministry of His Word. The very same cause which fills our hearts with fears for the many strengthens our confidence in the stability of the few.

"But I cannot disguise my conviction that the time has come when a united action between the two branches of our Church is absolutely necessary. Our countrymen are spreading themselves over the greater part of the New Zealand Islands. Japhet is being enlarged to dwell in the tents of Shem. The constant traffic with the English towns brings the Native population more and more into contact with our own race. It will be found impossible to carry on a double government for the Colonial and Missionary Church. But the blending of the one into the other must be a gradual work, and ought to be begun immediately. The Euthanasia of the Mission cannot be a sudden death.

"It is now more than six years (Feb. 23, 1853) since a large public meeting at this place concurred unanimously in the following Resolution:—

"'That this Meeting, gratefully acknowledging the vast benefits which, under Divine Providence, have been conferred upon the New Zealand Islands by the Church Missionary Society, authorize Archdeacon Hadfield to communicate with the Society in order to ascertain whether they would be willing to resign into the hands of the Clergy and Laity of the district of Wellington their present charge of the Native Settlements in that district; and upon what conditions they would assist in forming a fund for the permanent Endowment of Native Parishes and Schools.'

"I would earnestly recommend to this Synod the adoption of a resolution of a similar kind, including the whole field of the Society's Mission in New Zealand.

"My apology for the length of this address must be that I have endeavoured to condense, within the smallest compass, the deeply important subjects which it is my duty, as your President, to bring before you; and I will now conclude by the expression of my earnest prayer that we may be so blessed with the spirit of counsel as to have a right judgment in all things."

The discussions of this Synod were conducted with a spirit of forbearance and charity, which confuted the forebodings of those who had declared that the clergy and laity would meet only for the fomenting and increasing of dissensions, and the Synod terminated by an act, which the bishop gratefully thus described in a letter to his son:—

> "The Synod was closed most appropriately by the consecration of Bishop Williams; the four Bishops, of New Zealand, Christchurch, Wellington, and Nelson concurring in the act of consecration. It was a most delightful day, and one that I little expected to see when I first came to New Zealand. All seemed to be so thoroughly happy and satisfied with the appointment of the new bishops, as much as if each settlement had chosen its own bishop from personal knowledge; and the act of the younger bishops in consecrating one so long and so much respected in New Zealand as Bishop Williams was felt to be most appropriate: lest we should seem to have come in to reap the harvest which another had sown.
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> "After the Synod we returned to Auckland, from which centre I am now following up the remainder of my cycle paper, with only one Sunday more before I come to the end. For all these mercies, may God make me truly thankful, and may the same merciful Providence watch over my dear children."

About the same time (April 13) the bishop wrote to a friend in England:—

> "We had a delightful day on Sunday, April 3, when the four Bishops, of New Zealand, Christchurch, Wellington, and Nelson, consecrated the Bishop of Waiapu. We are most grateful to the Giver of all Good. I shall go back to Auckland light in heart, being now enabled to leave these rising provinces to the care of their own bishops. The time is approaching when I shall feel justified in applying for permission to consecrate Mr. Patteson as Bishop for the Islands; giving up, if required, the Bay of Islands for his See. In the meantime I hope to be enabled by God's blessing to prosecute the mission work with more vigour in consequence of the cutting off of the southern portions of New Zealand."

This event was one that evidently drew forth profoundest gratitude from the bishop: his letters at this time seem to have abounded with thankfulness. Thus to another friend he wrote :—

. . . . . .

"I wish that you could have been present to see our little church at the Antipodes, represented by its four Eton Bishops (for we must naturalize Harper),[1] lighting a fifth candlestick to be a light to lighten our native Christians. The new bishop was already at his work in New Zealand while I was still a boy at Eton; and though a veteran, who might have claimed some relaxation of his work, has just pulled down a comfortable house at his mission station to remove to a wild tract of uncultivated land, and there begin again the first work of settling, amidst all the perturbations of a native school, for the purpose of training up the New Zealand youth to take their place in the new order of things.

"At present I can hardly bring fully home to my mind the feeling of relief from the state of constant straining after unattainable results in which I have hitherto lived. The change is so sudden, that my present state of mind is one almost of collapse, and I am not so fully happy and thankful as I ought to be; but this will come when I have had time to adjust myself to my narrow orbit, especially if it should please God to enable me to win the personal regard of my smaller flock, to know them as their shepherd, and to be known by them, instead of merely passing by and casting upon them the shadow of an apostolic office, but without its healing virtue."

The Constitution adopted at this first meeting of the General Synod was brought into operation in the several dioceses in the course of the same year; that is to say, a Synod in each diocese was convened by its bishop, consisting of the bishop, all the licensed clergy and lay representatives from each organized cure; and the powers entrusted to it, under the Constitution by the General Synod, were exercised in drawing up statutes for the election of synodsmen and of nominators, the formation of parishes, and for regulating generally the external affairs of the diocese.

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[1] Bishop Harper had been a Private Tutor at Eton, but never an Eton boy.

These Diocesan Synods have since met every year, and have secured in each diocese the hearty co-operation of their respective clergy and laity; it is not easy to overrate the advantages which the Church has gained thereby, alike as regards its government and its establishment in the affections of the people; and it may be affirmed with truth, that without some such synodical action, giving to the clergy and laity a voice in the regulation of matters ecclesiastical, no Colonial Church can take a permanent hold upon the community among whom it is placed. The General Synod, which is the presiding authority of the provincial Church, is held once in three years, and since its first meeting at Wellington in 1859 has been assembled six times, viz., at Nelson 1862, Christchurch 1865, Auckland 1868, Dunedin 1871, Wellington 1874, and Nelson 1877. Its office is to aid in maintaining, in union with the Church of England, the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as that Church has received the same; to provide for unity of action on all essential matters, and the enforcement of discipline throughout the province; and to combine and develop the energies and sympathies of the Church in the extension of her work and ordinances. No material alteration has been made in the Constitution since its first adoption, excepting in reference to the tenure of Church property. A large proportion of this, chiefly, however, in the North Island, had been obtained by gifts or purchased by Bishop Selwyn, and was vested in him; and this he proposed to surrender to Trustees appointed by the General Synod, to be administered by them (if not under special Trusts), at the direction of the General Synod; and he seems to have expected that other Trustees of Church property and bodies like Diocesan Synods, who might associate themselves with the General Synod, would likewise place their property under the control of the General Synod, and so that body, by the hold which it would have over Church property, would ensure obedience to its decisions and greater uniformity of action. This was objected to by the Churchmen of the Diocese of Christchurch, where the lands which had been set apart by the Canterbury Association for Church purposes had been vested in a body of trustees appointed under an Act of the Legislature. They asked to be recognised as entitled to unite themselves with the other Dioceses under the Constitution and to take their part in the administration of the affairs of the Church, without transferring those lands, from the trustees in whom they were vested, to trustees appointed by the General Synod. The question was fully considered at the meeting of the General Synod held at Christchurch in 1865, when it was agreed that each Diocesan Synod might hold property for Ecclesiastical purposes and appoint trustees of such property without prejudice to their allegiance to the Church Constitution or to the authority of the General Synod. And to facilitate this, an Act, with the sanction of the Synod, was obtained from the Colonial Legislature, by which it was provided that each Diocesan Synod should possess, in respect of property held for Diocesan purposes and vested in trustees appointed by the Diocesan Synod, the same powers as were possessed by the General Synod in respect of property held in trust for that body. An useful Act had previously been passed by the New Zealand Legislature, enabling the General Synod, or indeed any body recognised as representative of a religious denomination, to appoint trustees, and to fill up vacancies when such might occur, at a duly constituted meeting.

Other Acts also empowered the Bishop of New Zealand to transfer property held by him to trustees appointed by the General Synod, and have enabled also any bishop in New Zealand who had become possessed of property in his corporate capacity, to transfer the same to trustees appointed by the Diocesan Synods. This has been the only serious deviation from the intentions of the founder of the Church Constitution of New Zealand—for such must Bishop Selwyn be esteemed, though, as he himself repeatedly stated, he only followed therein the precedents of the early Church, and was assisted in the draft of the Constitution by Sir J. Patteson and Sir J. T. Coleridge, and his friends and advisers Sir W. Martin and Mr. Swainson. And the steps taken to obtain this concession, involving, as it did, an important departure from the plan contemplated by Bishop Selwyn, only served in the end to show what reliance was placed by a large body of objectors in his wisdom, his disinterestedness, and his devotion to the interests of the Church, and their earnest desire not to lose the invaluable benefits which he had secured to the Church by his sagacity and untiring exertions.

In 1862, on the occasion of the General Synod being held at Nelson, the President could announce to the members assembled that the number of clergy in the Province had risen to nearly one hundred, among whom were one priest and nine deacons of the native race: that since 1859 Diocesan Synods had assembled twice in the diocese of New Zealand, twice in the diocese of Christchurch, thrice in the diocese of Wellington, and four times in the diocese of Nelson; while in the essentially Maori diocese of Waiapu a Synod had been held, attended by two English clergymen, three native clergymen, and nineteen lay synodsmen of native race, and in which all the proceedings were conducted in the Maori language. A Rural Deanery Board had likewise been organized in Otago, in the hope of thus preparing the way for the Synod of a new diocese.

In the previous year Bishop Patteson had been consecrated, and now took his seat in the Synod, which affirmed "that it will be of the greatest advantage to the Church in New Zealand to have a definite field of missionary labour open to it." "But," said the bishop—

> "These manifold blessings have been tempered with much wholesome sorrow. At the very time when we were

thanking God for the increase of the native pastorate, a war broke out between the two races, which at one time seemed to threaten to rend asunder the bonds by which they had been united for twenty years under the influence of the same faith and in obedience to one sovereign.

"After visiting most of the tribes who were engaged in the war, I have reason to think that it has pleased God, in His mercy, to avert this fearful calamity. We may still cherish the hope that the two branches which have been grafted upon the same root of Christ will live and bear fruit together. May God grant that Japhet may not envy Shem, and that Shem may not vex Japhet.

"In thus thanking God for these evidences of His mercy, we must not be understood to thank Him only for the material system of Church-government which He has enabled us to frame. We have learned to-day, in the celebration of the highest ordinance of our holy religion, to thank God that we are 'very members incorporate in the mystical body of His Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people.' We thank Him for the spirit of love, of concord, of communion, which He has breathed into the many members of our united body. We thank Him for all the separate gifts of holiness and grace which He has given to us as 'members in particular;' and also for uniting us together in one holy fellowship. We thank Him for the grace by which we have been made 'lively stones' (1 Peter ii. 5); and also for that grace by which He has built us up to be 'a spiritual house.' It is of His mercy that we are not mere grains of sand, but are compacted into the substance of the Rock of Ages.

"The end and aim of this spiritual organization is WORK, greater, better, more effectual work. We are 'made members of this holy fellowship, that we may do all such good works as God has prepared for us to walk in.' All great works must be done by the agreement of many workmen, under one master-builder. 'Can two walk together except they be agreed?' All argument on this subject is unnecessary in an age like the present. Every object in the world around us suggests the thought that single-handed work has passed away, as belonging to an age of barbarism. The spade has given way to the plough; the scythe, the sickle, and the flail are being superseded by machines for mowing, reaping, and thrashing. The single arm is reinforced by combinations of wheels and levers to raise a weight far beyond its own unassisted strength; and as man associates with himself the beasts of burden, and the mechanical powers to multiply his strength, so for the same purpose he unites himself with his fellow-men. The first thought of the projector of any great work is to form a company. The effect of this power of association, so strongly marked in our own race, has been to multiply sixfold, within our own lifetime, the rapidity of travelling by land; to reduce to less than one-half the time of the post between England and this country; to carry messages with the rapidity of lightning over thousands of miles: all these are the visible proofs of the power of united action under the guidance of practical wisdom.

"We also have our great work which God has given to us to do: 'to prepare the way of the Lord, to make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley must be exalted, and every mountain and hill must be laid low: and the crooked must be made straight, and the rough places plain.' (Isaiah xl. 4.)

"This work cannot be done without union of many hearts and hands, under the guidance of the wisdom which is from on high. Men of the greatest gifts and the most exalted piety have tried to reform mankind by their own spiritual energy and individual zeal; but their work too often died with themselves, because it was built upon no system to endure to future generations. Not so the great Master-builder,—He who 'hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand, and meted out heaven with the span; who taketh up the isles as a very little thing; and before whom all nations are as nothing,'—even He condescends to associate fallen men as fellow-workers with His blessed Son. It might have been enough that the Word of Life should be preached once for all by the lips of Him, who spake as never man spake; but it was the will of God that His servants should 'go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Nothing could be added to the perfection of Him who came to be the Saviour of the world; all were to live and move and have their being in Him; light and life were to be in Him alone; Christ was to be all and in all; and yet there was to be no member of His

Church so poor and humble as not to have his allotted work in his Master's household. Hand and foot, and eye and ear, all were to have their appointed functions, as 'members in particular,' and yet united as the body of Christ. There was to be no schism in the body, because it is the same God which worketh all in all. No abundance of spiritual gifts could dispense with the necessity of the 'more excellent way' of charity. 'Miracles, gifts of healing, diversities of tongues' (1 Cor. 12), were not more powerful evidences of the truth of the Gospel, than the fact that 'the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul' (Acts iv. 32). This more excellent way cannot be less necessary to us now that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost have been withdrawn. We need all the strength that unity can give; all the graces that are promised to united prayer; all the power which the 'member in particular' derives from its incorporation with the body, and from its dependence upon the Head.

"This is the principle of our synodical action. It is not, as some suppose, a vain attempt to supply by material organization the defects of inward life; but it is the result of a conviction, founded upon the records of the Apostolic Church, that the inward life must not be separated in practice from the external unity of the body of Christ. The law of unity is the essence of its strength, its purity, and its holiness. The only faith that will remove mountains and make straight in the desert a highway for our God, is that faith which worketh by love."

In 1865 the General Synod was held at Christchurch, and some changes were made in the Constitution at the instance of the Diocesan Synod of Christchurch as mentioned above. A more important step was taken, which was nothing less than an acceptance on the part of the Bishops of New Zealand of that amount of severance from the State which seemed to be deduced from discordant utterances of the Civil Courts in England, and a petition that the severance might be made complete and unmistakable by the removal of the last semblance of connexion represented by the retention of discredited Letters Patent. The petition of the Bishops was in the following terms:—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Bishops of the Anglican Church in New Zealand sheweth :—

1. That your Majesty's Petitioners were duly consecrated according to the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops according to the Order of the United Church of England and Ireland, and humbly express their conviction that all the powers necessary for the due administration of the Office of a Bishop in this Colony were conveyed to them by the Ordinance of Consecration.

2. That your Majesty's Petitioners accepted Letters Patent from the Crown the validity of which has now been denied by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the following words :—

"*Although in a Crown Colony properly so called* * * * *a Bishopric may be constituted and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction conferred by the sole authority of the Crown, yet the Letters Patent of the Crown will not have any such effect or operation in a Colony or Settlement which is possessed of an independent Legislature.*"

That the Letters Patent granted to your Majesty's Petitioners were issued after the Colony of New Zealand had become possessed of an independent Legislature.

3. That your Majesty's Petitioners therefore humbly crave permission to surrender their Letters Patent and to be allowed to rely in future upon the powers inherent in their office for perpetuating the succession of their Order within the Colony of New Zealand and securing the due exercise of their Episcopal functions, in conformity with the Church Constitution hereinafter described.

4. That your Majesty's Petitioners, in conjunction with Representatives of the Clergy and Laity from all the Dioceses in New Zealand, and with Bishop Patteson, have agreed upon a Constitution for associating together the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand by Voluntary Compact for the ordering the affairs, the management of the property, the promotion of the discipline of the Members thereof, and for the inculcation and maintenance of sound Doctrine and true Religion throughout the Colony.

5. That this Constitution has been recognised by an Act of the Colonial Legislature empowering the Bishop of New Zealand to convey to Trustees appointed by the General Synod, as established under the provisions of the said Constitution, numerous properties formerly held by him; and that at the present time the residences of four Bishops and of many of the Clergy, Sites for Churches and Schools, Burial Grounds, Lands for the Endowment of Bishoprics, Parishes, Schools, Colleges, and of the Melanesian Mission, are vested in Trustees appointed under the authority of the said General Synod; and further, that regulations have been framed for the administration of the properties so held in Trust for the General Synod, and a Tribunal has been established for the decision of any doubts which may arise in the course of such administration, in agreement, as it is believed, with the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Case of Rev. W. Long *v.* the Bishop of Capetown.

6. That the General Synod at a meeting held at Christchurch in May 1865 framed rules for enforcing Discipline within their Body, and also established a Tribunal to determine whether the rules so framed and assented to "have been violated or not, and what shall be the consequences of such violation," and that all the Bishops in New Zealand together with Bishop Patteson assented to the Rules so framed, and to the establishment of the Tribunal aforesaid, and are bound in common with all the Clergy and Lay officers of the Church in this Colony by all the Rules adopted by the General Synod. And further, that this Compact so entered into by all the Bishops in New Zealand before the receipt of the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on Petition of the Bishop of Natal was afterwards found to be in agreement with the following words of that Judgment:—

"*The United Church of England and Ireland is not a part of the Constitution in any Colonial Settlement, nor can its authorities or those who bear office in it claim to be recognised by the Law of the Colony othewise than as the members of a voluntary association.*"

7. That this Constitution of the Church in New Zealand was framed after careful consideration of a Despatch of the Right Honorable H. Labouchere to Governor-General Sir

Edmund Head, Bart., and in accordance with the following suggestion in that Despatch:—

"*I am aware of the advantages which might belong to a scheme under which the binding force of such regulations should be simply voluntary.*"

8. That your Majesty's Petitioners have accepted and acquiesce in the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that the Church of England in this Colony "*is in the same situation with any other Religious body, in no better but in no worse position, and the members may adopt rules for enforcing Discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them.*" And they therefore humbly submit that the Judgment of Lord Lyndhurst in the Case of Dr. Warren points out the course of procedure in all questions which may arise between any of the members of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, whether Bishops, Clergy, or Laity, who have bound themselves by Voluntary Compact under the authority of the General Synod, viz.:—

(1). *That* the question be tried and decided according to the Rules of the Synod as agreed to by the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity.

(2). *That* on Petition of either Party the Supreme Court of the Colony has authority to inquire into "the regularity of the proceedings and the authority of the Tribunal, and on those grounds merely" to affirm or annul the decision.

(3). *That* from any such decision of the Supreme Court of the Colony an appeal would lie to the Privy Council upon the same grounds.

And therefore that the Anglican Church in New Zealand is effectually guarded against the danger apprehended by the Lords of the Judicial Committee, viz.:—

"*That cases might occur in which there would be a denial of justice and no remedy for great public inconvenience and mischief*"

without having recourse to a direct appeal to the Crown in the case of any controversy such as that which is presented by the Petition of the Bishop of Natal.

9. That the above recited principle of the civil equality of all Religious Bodies has been affirmed by a Resolution passed by the House of Representatives in New Zealand.

10. That your Majesty's Petitioners humbly express their conviction that the right of appointment of Bishops in New Zealand is not part of the prerogative of the Crown, inasmuch as all the Bishoprics were founded by private efforts and endowed from private resources; and further, that the assertion of any such claim may operate as a most serious discouragement to the Clergy already in New Zealand, and tend to prevent other clergymen from coming out from England, by cutting them off from all hope of election to the highest office of the Church in this Colony.

11. That your Majesty's Petitioners therefore humbly pray that all doubts may be removed as to their *status* both ecclesiastical and temporal,

1. By the acceptance of the surrender of their Letters Patent now declared to be null and void:
2. By declaring the Royal Mandate under which your Majesty's Petitioners were consecrated to be merely an authority given by the Crown for the Act of Consecration, and to have no further effect or legal consequence:
3. By recognizing the inherent right of the Bishops in New Zealand to fill up vacancies in their own order by the Consecration of persons elected in conformity with the regulations of the General Synod, without Letters Patent, and without Royal Mandate, in the same manner as they have already consecrated a Missionary Bishop for the Islands in the Western Pacific, after communication with your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and with the Attorney-General of New Zealand.

And your Majesty's humble and loyal Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

G. A. NEW ZEALAND,
H. J. C. CHRISTCHURCH,
C. J. WELLINGTON,
EDMUND NELSON,
WILLIAM WAIAPU.

When the sixth General Synod was held at Auckland in 1868, Bishop Selwyn was in the anomalous position of the occupant of two Sees divided by half the world from each other. It had been found impossible for him to resign New Zealand on his being enthroned at Lichfield, and he had made it a condition of accepting the latter that he should return for a time to New Zealand and arrange the multifarious concerns of his diocese and province before the final separation was made.

To the last day of his life the bishop was always the eloquent advocate and convincing defender of synodal action. When he took his seat in the Lambeth Conference of 1867, which he declared to be in his judgment the most important event that had befallen the Church of England since the Reformation, he was at once listened to as the one prelate who had had more practical experience of Synods, diocesan and provincial, than any other member of that august assembly. During his stay in England, little dreaming that any prospect was before him other than that which most he desired, of dying first Bishop of New Zealand, his intense love for the Mother Church led him everywhere to recommend the establishment of Diocesan Synods, "whose decisions will be humbly and dutifully submitted to some higher Synod of the whole Anglican Church" as the remedy for our "unhappy divisions," and as the surest means of winning souls and maintaining them in the faith, when won. At the Church Congress held at Wolverhampton, in 1867, in the very diocese over which he was so soon to rule, or, as he would have preferred to say, which he was so soon to serve, he insisted on the necessity of Synods being fully established, and he thus gave his own experience:—

"For eight years I have been in the habit annually of meeting in my own Diocesan Synod both clergy and laity, and every three years I meet also our General Synod, composed of all the Bishops of New Zealand, with the addition of Bishop Patteson, and with the elected clergy and laity of all the dioceses; and in no one of these Synods has there ever been anything which a Christian man could wish had never taken place. The bishops, clergy, and laity have met in one chamber, have discussed all subjects that were necessary to the well-being of the Church, and have especially discussed the subject of Church Missions in connexion with the extension of the Gospel of Christ through all the neighbouring islands; and in the whole of this work there has been the greatest harmony among the different orders of which those Synods are composed, leaving upon my mind the most earnest hope that the day will shortly come when every diocese shall have its own Synod, where the clergy and laity will be presided over by their own bishop."

In perfect consistency with these convictions and experiences, the bishop immediately on his translation to Lichfield sought to confer on his new diocese the blessings which with so much patience and labour he had acquired for the diocese which he was leaving. This part of the subject will, however, be dealt with at a future period, and will fall in with the record of his life at Lichfield.

In February, 1868, he took his seat for the first time in the Convocation at Canterbury, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury has publicly stated, with cordial appreciation of his many gifts, that "the bishops received very great benefit from the electric force which attended his presence, and which was certainly something new amongst them at the time when he became a bishop at home."

No one can read the chronicles of Convocation of the year 1868 without recognising how true and how well chosen are the words of the Primate, which have been just quoted. Bishop Selwyn found the Upper House discussing with much erudition and patience, but with infinitely small result, the following resolution, proposed by the Bishop of London:—

"That this House, viewing with anxious concern the increasing diversity of practice in regard to ritual observances as causing additional disquietude and contention;

and perceiving with deep regret that the resolutions adopted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York have failed to secure unity, deems it expedient for the peace of the Church that the limits of ritual observance should not be left to the uncontrolled discretion of individual clergymen, and therefore ought to be defined by rightful authority."

The debate was long and learned, but it is not disrespectful to say that it could possibly lead to nothing but an expression of opinion on the part of the assembled prelates. This was at once detected by the Bishop of Lichfield, who said:—

"I think it desirable when a new member comes into a body, that he should in some general way state the principles on which he intends to act; and my principle, as far as I can see at present, is not to attempt to exercise any power that we do not really possess. I have been occupied for some twenty-five years in constructing a system of Church-government, if possible, out of the very discordant elements supplied to my hands when I first went to New Zealand. My first object was to construct a governing body which should have the confidence of the community, and I so far succeeded that an appeal has been made on a recent occasion touching this question of ritual to the governing body. When imputations were made in New Zealand against Bishop Jenner, who was consecrated to the See of Dunedin, that he favoured ritualistic practices, the answer made was that he had signed a declaration of submission to the laws of the governing body, and that he was prepared to submit to them.

"Here I apprehend there is no governing body at all: but the Church is in a state of anarchy and lawlessness. Here is a rubric which bears the name of law.[1] That law is so ambiguous that it ceases to be law, and in respect of that rubric the Church is in a state of lawlessness, and in respect to that lawlessness in a state of anarchy. To the rubric itself I attach very little consequence, because having accepted cordially the whole of the Prayer-book

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[1] The ornaments Rubric.

I believe that this rubric may be altered by Parliament to-morrow without affecting my conscience or the conscience of any clergyman. The words are 'by the authority of Parliament,' and not a word is said about the Church. If Parliament chooses to alter that particular rubric to-morrow, I am bound to abide by the decision of Parliament by the terms of the rubric itself. But on the general principle I deny that Parliament can alter the Prayer-book as it pleases, and that we should be bound to submit to the alterations, and therefore I limit my remarks to this particular rubric. I find that the rubric is not understood. Nobody can tell us what it means, and yet we are told there is going to be a legal decision upon it. The Bishop of London regretted that in giving its decision the Court was so slow in its operation. As the matter is so very uncertain, how can you expect the Court to go on quickly? The question evidently cannot rest upon the rubric alone. Are we then in the meantime, while a Royal Commission is examining into the meaning of the rubric, and into the way in which individual clergymen understand it, and while the question is still pending in the Ecclesiastical Courts, to sit in condemnation upon a certain number of clergymen, whose names are not mentioned, and whose doctrines are not known, and to cast out from this Convocation a general condemnation for certain offences upon persons unknown, founded on the transgression of a law which we all admit to be unintelligible? This is a very great difficulty to me, coming as a young and new member of this Convocation. In explaining my reasons for disagreeing to this resolution, I say that in support of it certain charges are made against certain persons unknown, and I cannot support it because it does aim at certain persons unknown.

". . . . I have had a conversation with one clergyman in London on the subject of ritualism, and he told me frankly, that if there was really an effective governing body, he for one would at once give in his adhesion to it. If they are told that Convocation, knowing nothing whatever upon the subject, has passed resolutions which, say what you will, will be construed into a direct condemnation, they will feel that the body to which they look for guidance has practically abdicated its own authority, and that they are left in the same state of anarchy as before. I think we ought to pause before sending out such a resolution as that. I look upon it that *the differences have arisen from the suspension of the legislative power of the Church*, and if I had any hope whatever, which I have not, and therefore do not intend to try the experiment, of being able to induce this Convocation to accept certain resolutions which would touch the root of the matter, and deal with the constitutional defect, I might be tempted to submit a proposition to the House. *Can we deny that the legislative powers of the Church are in a state of suspense?* The natural result of this suspension is that in doubtful matters individual clergymen have acted on their own judgment. An appeal to the Courts of Law can be of little avail, if the law itself be doubtful. How is a decision to be arrived at? Is there any law at all? If there be, must it not be a law of so doubtful a character that any decision upon it must be unsatisfactory? If the law be unsatisfactory, then it follows that legislation must be necessary. I think all this does point to legislation, and I think it better to say so at once. Why, indeed, should we have any hesitation in expressing our opinion? And if we do desire legislation, then I think a very grave and solemn question arises, viz., whether it should come upon one point alone, or whether it should not rather enter into a multitude of other questions. The legislative power in this country has remained dormant almost since the date of the Reformation, and there has been no power of making new laws as new cases occurred. The Episcopal Church in the United States of America, having legislative power, has removed this doubtful rubric from its Prayer-book. If the same power had existed here, and if the doubtful rubric had been removed from our Prayer-book, these questions would never have arisen. I feel that the appointment of a Royal Commission is not the best way of acting; that the appointment of a Royal Commission is, in effect, superseding to a certain extent the legitimate functions of the Church. It is because I believe that the ancient landmarks ought not to be removed, except with the same solemnity and by the same process as that with which they were originally laid down,—and it is because this matter is in danger of leading to a removal of the ancient landmarks by an incompetent authority, that I think it would be much better that we should not pass any resolution upon the subject at all, but that we should trust rather to the prevailing common sense and good feeling of the clergy themselves, when these things have run riot for a little while, not to allow them to run to such an excess as to inflict any permanent injury upon the Church."

At a later period of the same debate, the Bishop of Lichfield again spoke in explanation, and among other things said :—

"The difficulty lies not in the refractory spirit of the clergy, but in the ambiguity of the law. Legislation may be needed to make the law more clear. It is in the power of the Legislature to do that, but how the matter is to be decided on an appeal to a Court of Law I cannot see, otherwise than it might be decided by drawing lots. When we see that four most eminent lawyers on one side declare that vestments are illegal, and that four eminent lawyers on the other side declare that they are not, and when we see that the counsel for the prosecution does not think it expedient to introduce the question of vestments into his plea, one cannot fail to feel that a decision of a Court of Law would not settle the point. What we want is that the legislative body of the Church, with the concurrence of the State, should clear up the laws, substituting for those which are obscure, clear and unmistakable laws. Perhaps the expunging of this rubric would settle a great part of the question. I must say, however, that I differ from those who think that the question of vestments is the main cause of the secessions to the Church of Rome. *I believe the real cause why, in the face of all our advancement in knowledge, the Church of Rome makes progress among ourselves, while all its errors are unretracted, is found in the divisions which exist among us; and the only way in which we can counteract this is by being united.*"

In the same session of Convocation a Report of a Committee on Diocesan Synods appointed in the previous year was presented, and the balance of opinion was largely adverse to their being organized. The Primate in his impartial summing up said, he should look with interest at the proceedings of the Bishop of Lichfield. "He seems resolved upon making the experiment, and no doubt he will be able to carry it out as successfully as any of us could hope to do; but I do not think the time has come when, in my diocese at least, I can propose anything of the sort."

Even to the judgment of Archbishop Longley, the experience during a quarter of a century of the advantages of synodal action went for nothing, and the effort to set in motion such an organization in an English diocese seemed to be quixotic; and yet hardly more than ten years have elapsed, and the few dioceses which are still without an organization, which would almost have satisfied Bishop Selwyn if it did not quite attain to his ideal, are exceptional cases, and appear to be rapidly moving towards conformity with the majority.

The Upper House did not come to its decision without being fully in possession of the experience of the great pioneer in this movement. The Bishop of Lichfield had urged the assembled prelates to adopt the system which he had commended to them after long trial: for the name, whether Synod or Conference, he cared little.

> "Of the assembling together of bishop, clergy, and laity," he said, "I have no more doubt of the necessity than I doubt whether bread and meat are good for food. I am convinced, from an experience on the subject of more than twenty years, that such meetings are absolutely necessary, and that there should be some voluntary and some supplementary action of the bishop, clergy, and laity on which they should be brought together. These meetings for convenience, though not of necessity, are called Diocesan Synods, for I do not think that name is tied to any particular meaning."

After speaking of what he had already done during the two months which had seen him Bishop of Lichfield, and of the resolutions which had been passed in all the Rural Deaneries of that diocese, he was beset by questions from his brother bishops, the majority of whom were doubtful of the policy, and even of the possibility of his plans: at length, with infinite good humour and patience, he sat down and invited his brethren to catechise him freely, and this was done and submitted to in a manner which was gratefully acknowledged by all the bishops who had listened to the informal and unusual proceeding.

It is impossible to curtail materially the series of questions and answers which were put and given, and it would be to deal inadequately with a great question to pass it over. The following extracts from the proceedings of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on February 20, 1868, are therefore given :—

The BISHOP OF OXFORD (WILBERFORCE).—Then in what way do you mean to give a binding effect to your decisions, and how far will they reach?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—I am endeavouring to put in a short form the substance of lengthened discussions at each of our Ruridecanal Synods, and the average amount of discussion would be about twenty-nine hours in all. These were meetings where I was face to face with my clergy, and in some instances with a number of the laity. What we meant by a binding force was this : when a question should be put to the vote, every person in the minority should be bound by the decision of the majority ; for practical questions relating to the well-being of the diocese and any administration of the funds must necessarily be settled by the decisions of the majority. I suppose it is the same way with the Ecclesiastical Commission. I suppose one Commissioner, although personally he does not agree with what is adopted by the rest, is bound by the decision of the majority. This question was a good deal discussed, and it was well understood that no person could permit a question to be put to the vote and then go away from the Synod and act without reference to it, but purely according to his own views.

The Bishop of Oxford—Would it apply to such a case as this, for instance, taking a very simple case: whether the Clergy should attend at a consecration in surplices or in black gowns? That is of no importance in itself, but it is a simple question that may illustrate what I mean. Could you make such a rule as this, for instance—that for that diocese it is desirable that the Clergy who attend the Bishop at a consecration shall appear before him in their habit as Clergymen, or, on the other hand, in their academic dress? That is now a practical question, and if these things are to do good at all, it must be by enabling us to bring a number of scattered parties throughout the diocese into united action. These external things are nothing in themselves, but they are valuable as indications. I want to ask whether questions of this kind could be discussed in the Synod, and whether the minority would take the decision of the majority?

The Bishop of Lichfield—In going through a number of subjects, it becomes necessary, as far as possible, to prevent the discussion of details; and it was understood that when the Synod came to meet, it would be in the power of the majority to preclude all discussion on any subject they liked. If all parties agreed to the introduction of a subject, and it was afterwards put to the vote, the minority, I think, would be willing to be bound by the decision of the majority. Now, in my own installation to my bishopric in Lichfield, a very disagreeable thing took place. There was some doubt as to whether the Clergy who were present could wear surplices or not. Many of them came in surplices, and they were told to take them off. *Some of them did take them off, and some did not.* Even the students of the Theological College attend the services there on certain occasions in surplices, and yet it was supposed to be inadmissible for the Clergy to wear them on that occasion. Now, that was very unpleasant; and if the question had been settled before by a simple rule, it would have been much better. Such questions as this might be settled by the Synod.

The Bishop of Salisbury (Hamilton)—But that is a cathedral question, and not a clerical question.

The Bishop of Ely (Browne)—Yes; it was a question for the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral to deal with.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—Certainly; but I pointed out this as being the kind of question which it would be well to have decided by a proper authority. All we want is an authority to say, in such cases, shall the dress be black or white.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—But the power of excluding anything would rest with the Bishop?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—It would rest with the majority of the Clergy, with the majority of the Laity, and with the Bishop.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—Then, supposing the majority of the Clergy voted that it was right to wear surplices, and the minority voted that it was not. Could the minority escape afterwards from the decision of the Synod?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—I think in that case we should do very much what we did here yesterday—try by an adjustment to arrive at unanimity. I do not suppose we should ever risk the disruption of such a body for such a question.

The BISHOP OF BANGOR (CAMPBELL)—Suppose the minority of those actually present did consider themselves bound by the decision of the majority, still the Clergy who were not present except by representation might not consider themselves so bound. Is not that so?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—Why, I should suppose these difficulties would be reasons for not introducing such questions at all.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—But, after you have excluded questions of doctrine and reduced the operation of the Synod to practical subjects, if you exclude them too, how do you propose to find occupation for these busy spirits you have made?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—Without entering into any of those questions in New Zealand, we have had constant occupation. We have never lacked employment, and have never found ourselves in any disagreeable position. If there has ever been any disagreeable subject introduced, it has either been stopped or dropped.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—But are the cases parallel? You know both New Zealand and your own diocese of Lichfield?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—I think mine is an argument *à fortiori*, because when I went out to New Zealand I found the Clergy were under the English Church Mission, and that society has never in any way said to its Clergymen, "You owe an allegiance to the Diocesan Synod and in proportion we relax our rules for you." At first at the meetings of the Synod the English Church missionary Clergymen were always in a majority, and could have stopped any proceeding if they had chosen to do so.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—But does it not throw a little light on their friendliness that they were in an assertive majority?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—I say the great supporters of Synodical action were those Clergymen owing an allegiance elsewhere to a society in England, and so much the more remarkable is it that the minority thoroughly consented to what was done.

The BISHOP OF BANGOR—Have the decisions of the Synod in New Zealand always been acquiesced in?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—We began by saying distinctly, that no person who, from any reason whatever, withheld his assent from Synodical action should be affected by any of our acts, and the effect has been that only one Clergyman out of 105 has withheld his voluntary adhesion from us. There were certain laymen who strongly objected to the formation of the Synod originally, and among them was the present Chief Justice, but now he is one of our strongest supporters and members. I may say that I find nothing whatever in the report before us to object to, unless the objection be raised on the theory that this is not a Diocesan Synod proper, and nobody pretends that it is. We do not know what a Diocesan Synod proper is.

The BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL (ELLICOTT)—Yes, we do. We have had to look into that.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—But from what period of the Church's history do you take the Diocesan Synod?

The BISHOP OF ELY—From the sixth century to the Reformation.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—But that is the very point. The report of thirty-two Commissioners after the Reformation, called the *Reformatio Legum*, contemplated the existence of a Diocesan Synod other than that which existed in the time you speak of.

The BISHOP OF ELY—But that was not enforced. Since the Reformation the Diocesan Synod has been merged in the Bishop's Visitations.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—I find the general sense is to let the Bishop's Visitation merge in the Diocesan Synod. But I do not know how far I am legally competent to relieve them from that.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—Can you state in any one or two details what you imagine the work will be for the Synod in the diocese of Lichfield? What would the Synod have to do? You spoke of administering the funds of the diocese, but in my diocese there would be no funds to administer. What sort of subject could there be any wholesome decision given upon by such a body?

The BISHOP OF SALISBURY—And what would form the difference between these Diocesan Synods and the Ruridecanal Synods existing already?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—In answer to the Bishop of Salisbury I must say that the difference would be this—that the Diocesan Synod would bring the Clergy into contact with the Bishop, which the Ruridecanal Synod does not. I should not like to be bound to attend and hear all the proceedings in all the eight-and-forty Ruridecanal Synods in my diocese; but, on the other hand, I do wish to have the cream of all those meetings collected together into one. In answer to the Bishop of Oxford I may give this as an instance of the sort of question which would be dealt with. I have received a numerously signed memorial representing the feeling of a large body of the Laity and of many of the Clergy in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton in my diocese, and asking me to assist them in organizing a lay association. Now, I feel myself quite incompetent as a Bishop to control the influences which may be put into operation by such a system, for it is impossible that the Bishop can exercise any such authority over such an association as he is enabled to exercise over his own Clergy. You might have, as the result of such an association, a number of guinea subscribers laying down their own laws, and controlling their own lay agents in a manner not only without the consent but even in opposition to the wishes of the Bishop. If I had a Diocesan Synod, the first thing I would do would be to ask, "Are you willing to let this lay association be subject to the laws of the Diocesan Synod?" and if they agreed, then I should be safe in acting with them. But if they would not agree, and I were to have no more authority over them than the laws imposed by these guinea subscribers, I would not have any connection with them. I know the evil of it; I know how completely these societies are, to a certain extent, undermining and superseding the real work of the Church. But I would not consent to the establishment of a Diocesan Synod unless they gave me a veto in the proceedings. There has been considerable discussion on that point in my diocese, but I was determined nothing should induce me to meet the Synod unless they acknowledged that principle. Having that power, I can stop anything objectionable at any moment; and the Laity also have the same power, for if they think I am doing anything improper, they can stop it. In the same way the Clergy would have the same power, and thus I think we should be perfectly safe. I apprehend that such a Synod would not fail through lack of work—it would find plenty to do in absorbing into itself those irregular agencies which would otherwise be curvetting about outside the Church. That is only one case out of fifty that I might mention.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—I do not see how to apply that exactly.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—Then I will mention another case. Applications are sometimes made to the Bishop by some of his Clergymen to consent to a sale of a portion of the glebe. A Clergyman may write to me and say that a coal-mine has been discovered, or there is good reason to believe one may be discovered, near to or underneath his glebe, and it would greatly benefit his living if I gave my consent that it may be sold. Now, I cannot sanction that on my own responsibility alone; I cannot sell the property of the Church for some present good unless it is distinctly considered by a competent body that it is for the real good of the Church. These questions are coming before me every day, and other questions relating to the management of training schools, &c.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—In my own diocese we have a very simple arrangement. There is one common Board elected every year by ourselves, and our Archdeacon and Rural Deans are *ex officio* members. Then there are sixteen Laymen and eight Clergymen from each archdeaconry, with the Bishop at their head.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—That is a Diocesan Council.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—But it is not a Synod.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—But I look upon a Synod chiefly as a means of arriving at a good executive for all these purposes of the Church, and which shall not simply derive its authority from the nomination of the Bishop. Such a Council as that which the Bishop of Oxford has already mentioned would answer the object. I should desire that the Ruridecanal Synod should have its own standing committee, with an appeal to the triennial meeting of the Diocesan Synod, which Diocesan Synod should also have its own standing committee, to advise the Bishop in matters relating to the diocese. The only difference between what already exists in the diocese of Oxford and what I propose is, that perhaps my proposal would have a larger basis of confidence, and in its operation such a body would be able to do everything necessary in practice from time to time for the well-being of the diocese.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—Do you think the establishment of these Synods would lead to any other advantages?

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD—Certainly. I think it will lead to more unity, just as the very fact of the existence of the Ruridecanal Synods has led to more unity in the Church, much more than was originally anticipated. . . . .

The BISHOP OF OXFORD—I wish to return my personal thanks to the Bishop of Lichfield for his great kindness in bearing the questioning to which we have subjected him. As to the important subject itself, I do not think that the plan he has shaped out will meet the desire of those who wish for the restoration of Diocesan Synods. But such discussions as these afford us opportunities of learning wisdom one from another, and diffusing our ideas amongst our brethren at large, for it is most important that we should sift these matters to the bottom. In my diocese it has been considered desirable to found a Diocesan Society, and many are of opinion that all differences would disappear under the influence of such a Synod. My honoured friend Archdeacon Wordsworth, one of our Rural Deans, considers this one thing terribly lacking in the organization of the diocese. My question to him is the same as that which I put to my right rev. brother—Given the Diocesan Synod, what is it to do? I cannot see the use of calling large bodies into existence unless there is a definite work for them to discharge when called together. The result of my listening to the discussion to-day has not been to clear up the difficulty, and I remain in the same doubt as I was before. I have always felt, if I got my Diocesan Synod, what should I do with it? That is the difficulty with me. I admit the great advantage of bringing together the Clergy and the Laity, and the Clergy and Laity and the Bishop, and my life has been spent in inventing opportunities for that purpose, and I am happy to say with no inconsiderable success. We meet Archdeacons and Rural Deans annually. Our three days of prayer and discussion and consultation are invaluable; and we follow that up by Ruridecanal Synods in every part of the diocese, where the Rural Dean states all that has been agreed to at the central meeting, and the information is thus spread throughout every part of the diocese.

The Bishop of London—Do you call them Synods or Chapters?

The Bishop of Oxford—Ruridecanal Chapters. We have a gathering also of the school inspectors in the diocese for three days. By these various means a great body of the Clergy and Laity meet together every year. I find that in the Ruridecanal Chapters the first condition of success has been that there should never be a decision by vote. So that the minority may come with perfect confidence that they will have the opportunity of stating their own views and not becoming entangled by engagements, but they go back as free as they came, altogether unbound. That is the pinch of the whole question, and that is the reason I was so anxious to ascertain the opinions of my right rev. brother as to whether we could introduce that one principle.

The Bishop of Lichfield—I believe that many charitable Trusts would not require the intervention of Parliament if they were subject to diocesan government. We leave them in the hands of five or six persons who have power to devolve Trusts to their heirs and assigns. The governing body in such cases possessing public confidence acquires by the consent of all parties the management of a Trust. We are not troubled by framing statutes as *traps for perjury*, which is the case with respect to many statutes, but all our business in colleges or trusts is managed on the simple plan that every body of trustees is bound to make a report to a Synod at the triennial meeting, and that Synod issues new instructions to meet whatever difficulties may have arisen within the three preceding years. That system has given so much confidence to the public that I am not aware of any other being adopted. In a new country the persons making endowments and offering gifts come in in considerable numbers, and I have been obliged to keep on hand a printed form of conveyance, reserving to the General Synod the right of laying down rules and regulations. The body of Trustees come and ask for instruction every three years, and we try to *keep out of law fees*, which have eaten out the very vitals of many Trusts in England. There are certain subjects on which it is desirable to deliberate without coming to a vote; and it is the business of the Synod to place in a schedule those subjects on which we should not deliberate, those on which we should deliberate, and those on which deliberation should be followed up by a vote. As soon as a governing body is established in a diocese, that body will accumulate about itself an almost incredible number of Trusts, because it is the most influential and confidential body that the Deaneries know.

With his talent and passion for organization, and with his high estimation of its value, it was natural that the bishop should have considered the invitation to the Lambeth Conference in 1867 a call which he could not disregard, although he had up to that time turned a deaf ear to the earnest invitations of his relatives to visit England again: equally natural was it that he should have been so prominent an actor in that assemblage, that he should have been chosen permanent secretary, and that to his earnest representations was owing that second and still greater gathering of bishops in July, 1878, which he did not live to see.

Nevertheless, the scene at Lambeth in July, 1878, which he was not spared to witness, and in which, had he lived, he would have been the most prominent personage, was a triumphant climax to the efforts of Bishop Selwyn in the cause of unity which dated from his first Synod at the Waimate in 1844.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MAORI WAR.

Another chapter has to be written regardless of the chronological order of this biography, in which will be recorded not the successes but the hindrances of the Gospel. The story of the evangelization of New Zealand differs from the corresponding records of almost every other part of the world; generally we have to chronicle the innate antipathy of the heathen mind to the reception of the Truth, the force of their ancestral traditions, the pride of their hereditary superstition. In New Zealand the Maori after the first few years assimilated Christian teaching with a readiness too much akin to precocity, but when in its principal features the progress of the Gospel seemed to be unimpeded, the inevitable difficulty connected with the acquisition of land almost from the first intruded the accustomed obstacles. The colonizing instinct of the Anglo-Saxon race, on which we are wont to boast ourselves, is too often but an euphemistic synonym for the "greed of land" which in so very many instances has led to the ultimate destruction of the rightful owners, until we have accepted as a philosophical axiom the vague assertion, so grateful to our pride and ambition, that "the inferior race is doomed to disappear in the presence of the superior."

How sad had been the story, how discreditable the policy of our earlier colonization in the plantations of America, in New South Wales, and in Tasmania, was only too notorious, when the Government, in a fit of apparent compunction, determined that New Zealand should be a bright exception to the blunder of our former experiments in colonization. It was for this end indeed that New Zealand was added to our already ample Colonial Empire. British subjects had commenced to buy land on very doubtful title in these islands, and the Ministry knew too well that a crowd of speculating Britons eager to acquire land in a country where there was no settled form of government would lead at once to a war of races, if the Crown did not assume the sovereignty of the country to which its subjects, and those not the most orderly, had been attracted. The Ministry of the day pledged itself that nothing should be wanting which could save the natives of New Zealand from that process of extermination under which uncivilized tribes had hitherto disappeared when brought face to face with civilization. It was determined to try for the first time the great experiment, whether the representatives of the superior race, when they found themselves in that border-land where they confront the vices both of barbarism and civilization and the virtues of neither, should be true to their higher destinies; and whether a fragment of the family of the first Adam, long sunk in degradation, could be engrafted into the family of the second Adam and maintained in social and political vigour.

The Maori race had great and exceptional advantages; they had been under the influence of Christian missionaries, whose integrity and benevolence are unquestioned, for more than thirty years before their country attracted immigrants. A fatal error, an error, it is true, only of judgment, but not the less fatal for our present consideration, had been committed. During all these years the Missionaries, in accordance with the principles that then prevailed, had aimed at making their converts Christians but not citizens; their moral nature had been changed, but on their social habits little or no impression had been attempted. If the missionaries had combined with the spiritual training, which was the one thing needful but not the only thing desirable, lessons in industry, in agriculture, and in handicraft, the country would not have presented to speculating land agents and land companies the inviting prospect of an untitled and ownerless desert; as it was, no sooner did English adventurers set their feet on the soil of New Zealand than every square yard of land became at once the fruitful seed-plot of litigation and feud.

The treaty of Waitangi, which was signed on February 7, 1840, was the embodiment of the wishes of the British Government, and it was made, as it only could have been made, by the co-operation of the English missionaries; these gentlemen had not been desirous of seeing what had been their mission fields converted into a British colony, and they lent their services and won over the minds of the Maori chiefs and obtained their signatures to the treaty, only on the distinct understanding that by the assumption of the sovereignty the Queen of England did not absorb or destroy the power of the Maori chiefs and tribes. Indeed the chiefs were told that by accepting the treaty their individual importance would be increased, as their title of chieftainship would be acknowledged, and the people, restrained from intertribal wars, as well as from oppression of foreigners, would grow in wealth; and being bound to submit their own disputes to arbitration, they would be no more insulted by white men. This treaty carefully reserved to the natives all their rights of property, of whatever kind. The tribal right as well as that of individuals was rigidly maintained, and up to the year 1840 it was an unheard-of thing that an individual member of a tribe should claim a right to alienate a portion of the land of his tribe. This fact is of great importance, as the disregard of it led at no distant date to a protracted war, the causes of which are not yet removed, and may at any period bring themselves again into prominence.

To this treaty the whole missionary body considered themselves pledged in honour; any infringement of its terms on the part of the Government would have at once compromised their influence and their character for integrity in the eyes of the natives. It was not long before the sense of the treaty was severely tested; but it was subjected to a more severe strain when, in 1852, gold was said to have been discovered at Coromandel, not on Crown land, as had been the case in Australia, but on land in the possession of the natives, most sensitive in regard to their territorial rights. Nothing but self-restraint on the part of all concerned could prevent this discovery from proving an unmitigated curse. The Lieutenant-Governor went to the spot and summoned a meeting of the chiefs: the bishop and the Chief Justice, as has been already mentioned, joined him, and in the presence of these witnesses he offered the chiefs protection and assistance in keeping order among the motley and lawless population who might be expected to hover round the scene of so much hidden wealth. It was doubtless owing to the influence of the bishop and to the teaching of the missionaries that the old chief and spokesman, Te Taniwha, said, " It is well; these are the tokens of peace, the presence of the Governor, the Bishop, the Judge. The messengers of God, of Truth, stand here; even the bone of that which is good. The arrangements are left to you, O Governor, Bishop, and Judge."

Thus the difficulty was solved by integrity and self-restraint; the result reaffirmed the fact that by the Treaty of Waitangi the Queen obtained the rights of sovereignty, while the Maoris retained the full rights of chieftainship; that the Queen received the whole governorship, and the Maoris the full rights of British subjects. The peace was tolerably well kept between the two races during the first period of Sir G. Grey's governorship. He is a man with a peculiar sympathy with native character, and much interested in their history and language; this he has proved in two quarters of the globe; he also co-operated with the bishop and missionaries in all matters that related to the welfare of the Maoris, but in 1853 his term of office ended, and with his departure New Zealand became possessed of an independent and representative government. Sir George Grey had been not merely the Governor, he had been the protector and friend of the natives; now they found themselves under a government in which they were not represented, and bound by laws in the enacting of which they had no voice. As the present Lord Carlingford said in the House of Commons on April 11, 1861, "A constitution has been conferred on the colony of New Zealand in forgetfulness of the large native tribes within the dominions to which it was intended to apply." Neither were the average pushing colonists the sort of men likely to work such a constitution with moderation; they were constantly holding meetings for the discussion of the problem, "How to govern the country."

The very treaty of 1840, on which so much stress had been laid by the colonists, had never been fulfilled by the Government in regard to the matters guaranteed by it to the natives: the responsibilities of sovereignty had never been observed. The Maoris were eager to learn of the white men, whom for their skill and prowess they held in high esteem; but no adequate steps had been taken to educate them in the affairs of ordinary social life, or to fit them for the exercise of political rights, and the bishop had found little sympathy, even among the missionaries, still less among the colonists, with his efforts to train them in industrial pursuits.

A colonial ministry in a democratic legislature is not likely justly to govern a native race. Colonists who speak of England as *home*, and who regard the colony only as a country which gives them a temporary resting-place in which to accumulate a fortune, will manage their government as an unscrupulous tenant manages a rack-rent farm. The present, not the future, is their care; it is of more importance to exterminate the lawful owners of the soil than to attempt the problem of their civilization and amalgamation with the intruders; and there is, sad that it should be so, ever present in the mind of the British colonist, and too often expressed in his speech, the contempt and abhorrence of men whose colour is different from our own. The Maoris, an aristocratic race, were most sensitive, and sorely was their patience tried. Sir George Grey and the bishop always showed them kindness and respect, which were returned in full measure; but the rudeness of ignorant and coarse settlers had much to do with setting race against race. The bishop used to say that he was quite ashamed to travel with his native deacons, who in Auckland were accustomed to sit at his own table and behave as gentlemen, because he could not take them with him into public rooms, where a drunken carter, with a white skin, would have been considered perfectly good society.

In the bewilderment, then, that was caused by the establishment of constitutional government, by which they were removed from the immediate government of the Queen's representative, whose authority they perfectly understood and respected, and placed under a minister of native affairs, and a parliament in whose constitution they had no share, the Maoris were driven to assert themselves, lest their position should be entirely overlooked. The governing power was felt for their purposes to be deficient: in many parts of the country there had never been a resident magistrate: there was no authority to put down with a high hand the dreaded purchase of rum, or to keep peace. A conference was held in June, 1857, at which Bishop Selwyn and the chief of the Wesleyan missionaries were present, when, in spite of protests, Potatau, the chief of the Ngatiawa tribe, was elected King of New Zealand. It was distinctly proclaimed that this was not to interfere with the sovereignty of the Queen of England. "Let the Queen and the Pakehas occupy the coast and be a fence round us," were the words of one of the chiefs who hoisted the Union Jack and the King's flag side by side on the same staff. The Governor was alarmed, and visited the districts that were supposed to be rebellious; but after parleys with the chiefs, who received him with honour, he returned to Auckland, believing that the so-called "King movement" boded no danger nor insecurity.

It was not, however, the "King movement" that caused the disastrous war which entailed on the colony losses and miseries which cannot be estimated, and checked, and almost destroyed, the Christianity of the Maori race, although the war gave force and consistence to the "King movement." The Maori king was rather an offshoot of the establishment of a colonial legislature which ignored the indigenous race: the root of the war is to be found in the well-founded mistrust in the native mind of the motives of the English colonists in the matter of their lands. These had always been in their heathen days the most fruitful source of wars between tribe and tribe: there was not a spot of land throughout the whole of the island of which the limits were not perfectly well defined, the ownership known, and the titles authentic. To the Englishman these lands seemed mere wastes of forest, swamp, or bush, that only after much labour would produce a crop: to the natives they were estates, held by a curious tenure, and which could only be alienated by the consent of all who were connected with them.

The Maoris had never been unwilling to sell their lands: they had an instinct of political economy which taught them, that the presence among them of skilful farmers would do more for them than the ownership of barren swamps; but they insisted on the extinction in all cases of the native title, no easy matter amid the intricacies of tribal uses and joint ownership. The immediate scene of the war was at Taranaki or New Plymouth, whither, as has been stated in a previous chapter, the bishop had gone in 1855 at the request of the Governor to keep peace. Taranaki had long been coveted ground. In 1839 the agent of the New Zealand Company had, as he thought, bought it of the tribe who claimed to be its owners: in 1840 and 1842 the rights had to be purchased of other tribes, and the colonists began to settle on the soil for which they had paid: but the presence of the English encouraged many of the original owners, who had long before been driven away by force, or had been carried into slavery, to return to their holdings, of the sale of which they had no knowledge, and about which they had never been consulted.

A Commissioner, who was sent down to investigate their claims, affirmed the validity of the sale, which was received with so much indignation that military assistance was sent for. The Governor went down in person, and refused to confirm the Commissioner's award: the land on which the English were settled was bought over again, and the rest was given up to the native claimants. Then came the intertribal disputes of 1855, of which mention has already been made. In 1859, the settlers still desiring the possession of a block of land at the mouth of the Waitara River and the only approach to a harbour near their town, it was bought by the Government from a man called Te Teira, whose right to sell it was disallowed by his tribe. The offer to sell was made to the Governor in person. Wiremu Kingi who was present immediately said, "Listen, Governor; notwithstanding Teira's offer, I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha: Waitara is in my hands; I will not give it up. Never! never! never! I have spoken."

The subordinate official who investigated the title declared that Teira had a perfect right to sell, and the land was at once taken possession of by the English. [It may here be stated parenthetically, that the title was subsequently found to be defective, and that in 1863 Sir G. Grey resigned the Waitara to its lawful owners.] Surveyors were sent upon it and were not violently resisted, but the old Maori women pulled up their poles and pegs as fast as they stuck them into the ground.

In February, 1860, the Governor proclaimed martial law, and in the following month a military force, which had been sent from Australia, occupied the Waikato district.

The step was not taken without protests on the part of those who calmly considered the matter and were not biassed by the fact of possessing land, or of desiring to acquire more: it was pointed out that the seller was almost alone; that he had taken British gold and expected to be supported by British bayonets, and that the great majority of his tribe, who were "unseduced by money, and unintimidated by power, were only defending the rights confirmed to them by the Queen."

Nevertheless the conviction remained in the minds of all impartial persons, that the would-be seller had not the whole right of sale, and that a thorough and impartial investigation would prove the fact. In the New Zealand Assembly the oldest and most respectable of the settlers, supported by the Bishop and Chief Justice, openly espoused the cause of Wiremu Kingi in forbidding the sale of his people's land. Some declared that the seizure of the coveted block of land was the result of a conspiracy among the settlers, and others, and these the more thoughtful, felt that a dispute about a question of title should have been referred to some court of justice, and that it was monstrous that the offices of judge and claimant should be vested in one and the same person. "We think the Governor wrong," the bishop wrote to Sir John Patteson in July 1860, "in making war upon a land question without submitting it first to some judicial inquiry: but he has suffered dearly for it, as the quarrel has cost the lives of many soldiers, and now absorbs the whole force, military and naval, of the Australasian colonies."

The bishop, accompanied by the Maori deacon Joshua, went up the Waikato in May, 1860, in the hope of arranging matters peaceably: he was invited to a large native gathering, where the King's flagstaff was erected, and he felt that he had no course open to him but to leave.

In November of the same year the discovery near Waikato of the dead body of a Maori, supposed to have been murdered by an Englishman, caused great excitement;

and the bishop laboured with his might to prevent the outbreak of hostilities which seemed imminent. What he did, and with what feelings, is best shown in two letters written on the same day.

(i.) To Sir John Patteson.

Nov. 3rd, 1860.

My dear Sir John,

In the midst of some feelings of doubt which must arise, when a minister of the Gospel enters into any political contest, it is a great comfort to me to receive such a letter as yours, not so much because it is pleasant to find one's own opinion confirmed, as because I can now feel satisfied that I have not taken up my present position without just and necessary cause. Up to the time when the soldiers were sent to Taranaki I was in the most friendly communication with the Governor and his ministers. Sir William Martin was his constant adviser on all matters relating to the social improvement of the natives, and had just compiled a small code of rules for the use of native magistrates at his request. We had not even the opportunity of offering advice, for we heard nothing of the matter till the order was given for the troops to embark. The false step once taken, the Government seemed determined to persist in carrying it through with a high hand, and for a time the voice of the colony seemed to be in their favour. But the change soon began to be apparent. We knew that Waikato needed but a little more provocation to break out into war, because the affair at Taranaki was announced by Government, and looked upon by the natives, as the beginning of a new policy for the whole of New Zealand. It became necessary for us to enter into the strife, and I hope it was done temperately and respectfully. The evil has now approached Auckland. I am now writing from the house of Major Speedy, forty miles from Auckland, whose family have just returned from a short exodus to the nearest water carriage, to be ready to fly from a party of Waikatos, said to be 400, but actually 250. The exciting cause, superadded to the Taranaki war, was that the body of a native of the place was found in the forest, apparently killed by a gun-shot wound. An Englishman who had been shooting wild cattle was suspected of the murder, but no proof was found against him. We have just received news that the war party has gone quietly back after hearing the statement of the native chiefs who conducted the inquiry as assessors to the English coroner. The settlers have returned to their homes, and are busy unpacking their goods, and exhuming their buried property. One week's taste of the realities of war has been sufficient for them. Now is the time for the Government to make peace, when the white people have had just sufficient taste of war to cure our *insular* disposition to enjoy the excitement of war at the expense of others."

(ii.) To William Selwyn, Esq.

The Mauku, *Nov. 3rd*, 1860.

My dear William,

You will not know the place from which I am writing, but I hope you will see it and many of my customary haunts when you visit us, as we hope, next year. This is a small English settlement on one of the many creeks of the Manukau estuary, and about six miles from the Waikato. About a fortnight ago a native was found dead in the forest near this place, and his friends supposed him to have been murdered by a white man. An inquiry was held, but no proof could be found, and many believed that the death had been accidental. But the excitement caused by the long continuance of the Taranaki war had so inflamed the minds of the island tribes, that a large party of armed men came down the Waikato in their canoes last Tuesday and threatened to seize the suspected person and deal with him according to their own law. At eight on Tuesday evening the news arrived in Auckland, and I mounted my trusty old chestnut, "Rona," or the "Man in the Moon," to go to meet the war party. At three in the morning I reached the furthest English village, Drury, about twenty-four miles from Auckland, and twelve from the Waikato River, on which the supposed enemy was encamped. The village and the large inn (Young's) was as still and peaceful as if nothing had happened. I rode into the yard, opened the stable, lighted the stable lantern, fed my horse, and walked up and down the stable for an hour before any one appeared; and when, at 4 A.M., the master of the house appeared to call his men to carry messages to warn the settlers of their danger, I could not help congratulating him on the confidence which he felt in his Maori enemies, to sleep so soundly within twelve miles of 400 armed men with nothing but a forest road between him and them. He then gave me breakfast, and I rode on about six miles further to the edge of the wood, calling upon the settlers on the way, and advising them to assemble in one house and wait for further information. Then I left the horse, and walked through the wood, with mud up to my knees (for we have had a season like your last summer), till I came to Tuakau on the Waikato, where the "*taua*," fighting party, was expected to land. About twelve Archdeacon Maunsell joined me, and at two the war party came, but we could see at once by the open and bright expression of their countenances that they did not mean any mischief. The afternoon was spent as usual in much talk upon the subject, and ended with evening service in a large house filled with about 200 men, with their muskets piled around the central pillars. They were old friends whom I had seen at the great meeting at the junction of the Waikato and Waipu, where I had held many such services with them. Their villages lie between the rivers Waikato and Waiho (Thames), and their chief is William Thompson, the son of old Waharoa, a warrior of great name in former days. Their arms were well cleaned and kept, but not of the newest kind, being chiefly old muskets with flint-locks. We were glad to find that they were inclined to go back quietly. The tribes resident on the river refused to allow them to pass through their ground; and thus, according to their own expression, shut the door against them. Archdeacon Maunsell and I of course gave them our advice to go back, and so furnished them with another excuse.

Thursday, November 1.—Another service with my warlike friends, and a short address on the subject of the communion of saints, after which an old man, seeing me looking at them steadfastly, asked what I was thinking about; to which I answered that I was thinking whether they were sealed in their hearts or on their foreheads only. He took the hint at once, and replied, "What can we do, if the Governor makes war upon us?" I then asked the chief why two of his canoes had broken off from the main body, and had gone on ahead instead of stopping at Tuakau. He said that he did not know, but that they themselves felt uneasy about it. I offered to go in search of them; and he gave me a letter to order them to return, of which the following is a translation:—

"O George and Whakapaukai, give heed, if you are overtaken by the bishop at Patumahoe come back both of you, come back peaceably all of you. Your work is done. The footsteps sound at Patumahoe (the place where the man died). The claim of the dead is satisfied, come back peaceably. We shall break up from hence (to return home).

"Enough. By Koroki, By Haua." } (Ancestors of his tribe.)

He read this letter aloud to the tribe, and I hurried off to catch the truants, for Archdeacon Maunsell and I were not without fear that they were gone to attack the Englishman whom they suspected of the murder. I had just come to the edge of the forest, and was looking forward with no great appetite to another dive through the deep mud, when one of my faithful native deacons, Pirimona Te Karari, appeared with a horse (old Jack) who carried me to the place where I had left Rona. On my way I cheered the settlers with the prospect of a speedy return to their own homes; but advised them to keep together on the outside of the forest for another night or two.

Pirimona and I then rode together to Patumahoe, to inquire after George and Whakapaukai, two gentlemen of no good repute among their own people. On the way we met Mr. Purchas, who had heard of the favourable disposition of the "taua," and had come out to stop the Mauku settlers from flying in a boat over Manukau. As we reached the settlements, the little parties of men, women, and children began to appear on the various paths leading to their homes. Under the verandah of one of the empty houses stood the brother of the man supposed to be murdered. He was in fighting costume, with his double-barrelled gun in his hands; and said that he was there to guard the house at the owner's request, which I found to be true. Thus the very man who had gone up the Waikato to summon the tribes to avenge his brother's death, was the first to be employed by the settlers to guard the property which he had forced them to leave. At first I did not quite believe his story, but thought it possible that he might be waiting for George and Whakapaukai, so I took a guide from the native village, left the horse at a settler's house, and walked off with Pirimona to Purapura, a small village about six miles off on the banks of the Waikato, expecting to find the crews of the missing canoes there, or to meet them on the way. It was well that we left the horses, for the night overtook us before we had cleared the wood; and we should have had much trouble in getting them through in the dark. About 8 P.M. we reached the village, but found only an old man and a few women, who welcomed us to a blazing fire, and made us a supper of "dough boys." The women told us all they knew about the causes of suspicion against the white man; but knew nothing of the movements of the party of whom we were in search. So after prayers and a long talk we all lay down on the floor of the house and slept till daybreak.

Friday, November 2.—Pirimona and I started at daylight to walk back to the English village, where we were hospitably entertained at breakfast in the first house we came to; and had the pleasure of finding that the inmates had slept quietly with more confidence in our vigilance than we deserved, for Dogberry and Verges could not have slept better than we did.

In the afternoon we rode five miles, to the place where the suspected person was living, to inquire whether any strange natives had been seen about; but none had been seen, and we began to hope that the stragglers had returned quietly to the main body.

Saturday, November 3.—This morning a message arrived from Mr. Maunsell reporting that the "taua" had returned, and all the settlers here are unpacking their goods and setting their houses in order with thankfulness of heart. Some are digging up their buried property; and the native trustees are bringing back to the owners the moveables which they had hidden in the woods. Friendly relations are immediately resumed between the two classes of inhabitants, and a stranger coming here to-day would not discover that there had been any alarm. Pirimona has gone to the native village to renew his advice to the natives to give up carrying their arms; and to-morrow he will, I hope, conduct Divine Service with them, while I assemble the English settlers to offer up their thanksgiving for the restoration of tranquillity; and so ends the little history of the Patumahoe Taua.

We are looking forward anxiously to your visit, if it please God, next year, and to the many conversations which we hope to have on the subject of your future calling. On that point I hope everything, but presume nothing, because I remember that at your age, though I had some desire for the ministerial office, I had not any fixed or devoted purpose of heart to undertake its duties, nor any steadfast resolution so to frame my life as to make every day a preparation for it. It pleased God that much of the restless energy which then found its vent in mere amusement, the running to and fro, as it seemed, without point or aim, was a training of which I have since felt the value, to enable me to do the work of an evangelist in seeking out the sheep of Christ that are scattered over a thousand hills. I wait, therefore, in patience, till it pleases God to make known to your heart the work which He has given you to do. But remember that every man has his work. There is no place in heaven for unprofitable servants.

Your most affectionate Father,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

Not until after his decease was the full story of his courage and unselfishness made known: then an old settler at Mauku wrote in an Auckland newspaper:—

"The stories of his self-sacrifice are in every household, and indeed during that grievous native war he seemed ubiquitous. No wife suddenly by its dire effects widowed but he was there. No mother bowed down in sorrow for the loss of her son, but his thrilling voice was pouring into her ear the words of consolation and blessed hope. No isolated household requiring a warning of the near approach and evil intentions of the stealthy foe but the bishop was the first to sound the tocsin, and personally assist the family to a secure place of refuge. Sure I am that the first European settlers of Mauku, humanly speaking, owed their lives to Bishop Selwyn's untiring watchfulness and forethought. Well I remember the early spring of 1860, upon the occasion of a native being killed in the bush, when our lives were considered in such jeopardy, that the Governor ordered a vessel to be sent to the Mauku river to rescue us from imminent peril. His Excellency's message for us to go on board reached us during breakfast one morning, and was quickly followed by the stealthy step of a friendly Maori, who came to urge us to go away at once, for she had "made a thief of the *korero* of the Maori," and they had planned to kill us that night. We quickly turned the calves to the cows, opened the doors of the pigstyes, but silver was as dross to dear life, and we left the spoons on the breakfast-table, and hastened to the refuge so kindly sent for our relief. On the *Raven* in the Mauku Creek were collected the whole of the white population—amounting to some sixty souls—and there we spent two days awaiting orders from headquarters, when Mr. Purchas came to inform us that the bishop and Mr. Maunsell had gone and met Wiremu Kingi (William King) and the war-party at Tuakau, and influenced them to abandon their hostile intentions towards us, and return to Waikato; consequently we might disembark and safely return to our homes. You may be sure we speedily took advantage of this joyful intelligence, and I happened to be the first to reach Upper Mauku. The desolation those two days of abrupt absence had caused beggars description. Calves bleating for food, cows standing by their unknown progeny nearly bursting with milk, pigs rooting up carrots, turnips, onions, strawberry-beds, &c. But all this was as nothing when I descried a well-known figure descending a hill near, and approaching the house. I ran to the gate, which I had scarcely reached when I saw the bishop, who had dismounted from his horse, and was taking from the saddle a small haversack. I accosted him: 'My lord, I suppose you know we have all just left the vessel and returned to our homes. *Have we done right?*' He replied, 'Yes; I know all about it. Will you let me leave my horse here until to-morrow, as I am going to Purapura?' I said, 'Certainly; but you cannot proceed to-night; it is eight or nine miles, an obscure bush-track, and now past 4 o'clock. Come in, take some refreshment, and go in the morning.' His reply was, 'No, thank you, I have bread in my kit, and must push on at once, but shall probably be back early in the morning.' And return he did at 6 A.M., drenched to the skin, having had to ford a creek. He took my hand, and said in his own kind and musical voice, 'I know you will forgive my not answering your question yesterday, but now I will make a clean breast and tell you all. You know Mr. Maunsell and I intercepted the Maoris at Tuakau, and after we had arranged with William King for their return we found a party of the most reckless of them had, while we were talking, taken a canoe and started off, intent on mischief. So I volunteered to go to Purapura, and get the chiefs there to prevent a war-party passing over their land, without which permission they could not proceed to Mauku. This the chiefs William Wesley and Adam Clark have promised to do, but I will remain here until all danger from these wild spirits is past.' And so he did; guarding us with jealous care, never seeming to sleep soundly; for upon any unusual noise in the night he was up and out in a moment. On the Sunday, Nov. 4, 1860, he conducted in our little schoolroom Divine Service, and preached a sermon never to be forgotten—inspiring trust and confidence in God. The Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield visited Mauku for the last time on the 1st October, 1868, having on that day held a confirmation service at the church, and on the Mauku and Drury Road, under a glorious full moon, in a voice trembling with emotion, we received the bishop's parting blessing, and bade adieu on earth to this great and good man."

In the early part of 1861 whilst hostilities still continued at Taranaki, the bishop, as before, did all that lay in his power to promote peace. After a personal interview with the Governor, he submitted a formal memorandum on the Taranaki question, in which he claimed that the rights of the New Zealanders as British subjects should be regarded as identical with those of the English; that the rights of Maoris to the soil of New Zealand, where the title had not been extinguished, should be fully recognised; that all native customs in connexion with proprietary right should be respected; that all land disputes should be submitted to a competent and impartial tribunal; and that the existing quarrel should be allowed to sink tacitly into an armistice until feelings on both sides should be sufficiently calm to allow of negotiations for peace.

In May, 1861, the Governor addressed a formal proclamation to the chiefs of Waikato, demanding that the King movement should be given up, and he at once prepared to invade the district in force, and with this view the troops were removed to Auckland. This was happily averted by his removal from the government. As in 1848 the bishop had been called by Mr. Hume in the House of Commons "a turbulent priest," so now in New Zealand he seemed likely to receive a repetition of the honour. His conscientious advocacy of the rights of his fellow-citizens was denounced as a political interference, and he was told that no right to interfere between Her Majesty's Government and her native subjects could be *allowed* to any minister of religion. To this the bishop replied May 20th, 1861:—

> "There is no ambiguity whatever in the ground which we take. When all other classes of Her Majesty's English subjects in New Zealand are expressing their opinions upon the native question, and supporting a policy which we believe to be unjust, we should be guilty of betraying the native race, who resigned their independence upon our advice, if we did not claim for them all the rights and privileges of British subjects, as guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi. As the earliest settlers in this country—as agents employed by Government in native affairs—as intimately acquainted with the language, customs, and feelings of the native race—and, above all, as ministers of religion having the highest possible interest at stake—we assert the privilege, which the law allows to every man, of laying our petitions before the Crown and the Legislature."

A lull followed at this juncture, and in July of the same year the bishop and his most influential clergymen represented to the Government that the war had been wholly uncalled-for, that Taranaki had up to the time of the outbreak been one of the most peaceful parts of the colony, and that a suitable Tribunal, before which disputes about land could be adjudicated, would remove all dissatisfaction from the native mind; they also offered their personal services in inquiring into the causes of dissatisfaction, and in influencing the Maoris to accept terms of peace.

In September, 1861, Sir George Grey returned to New Zealand to resume, under very altered conditions, the governorship which he had laid down some eight years before. The Maoris knew him to be a man of resolution and power, but while they saw the troops still remaining at Auckland, to the great satisfaction of the trading classes of that city, they felt that peace was as remote as ever. Nevertheless, the Maoris welcomed their old protector, and sent him addresses and words of greeting. The Waikato people kept silence, and waited for the Governor to make the first sign; ultimately he met the chiefs face to face, and in a manifesto of wonderful ability proclaimed a policy of justice to both races; as for the Maori King, he thought him a mistake, and a foolish mistake; but he should not fight him—he should "dig quietly round him until he fell," while there would soon be twenty kings, and wealthy ones too, for every chief who behaved loyally to the Governor would be a king.

During this lull the Governor employed the military in cutting a grand road through the forest of Hunua, thereby making the Waikato country easy of approach and of attack. At the end of it he built a large fort, capable of holding 1,000 men, which was called Queen's Redoubt, and overhanging the Waikato river he built another fort. While the Governor was thus steadily and firmly preparing for war, the bishop, as became his office, was labouring for peace under very great difficulties. His unpopularity was at its height. There was on the part of the majority of the colonists a bitter resentment against his advocacy of native rights, and resistance to the subordination of those rights to the supposed interests of the colonists. He had no sympathy either with the contempt or with the fear of the Maoris which prevailed—now one, now the other—with those who knew little of them, and who were unacquainted with their language and feelings. In October he attended a great assembly of natives at the Waikato, and in the following month he went to Taranaki, and was, as he recorded in his journal, "received with groans."

Little more than the above laconic entry was recorded by the bishop himself; but on his return to Auckland he was compelled to tell the story to his friends, who had received exaggerated and untrustworthy accounts of it, and one who heard it from his own lips thus related it to friends in England:—

"I wish you could have seen his bright, noble look as he told this story. As soon as he landed the mob assembled on the beach, and while he waited for his carpet-bag, began, 'Three groans for Bishop Selwyn; One groan more,' and so on. He had to post letters at the post-office, and while there these heroes followed him, and the mob grew and groaned anew. He thought it better to put down this nonsense; so he turned and said (they were all turning their backs) 'Now, it is more English-like to look me in the face, and tell me your grievances.' I give the substance, not the exact words. Several began to speak at once, but the rest stopped them with 'Fair play; if the bishop will hear us one at a time.' Another began some coarse, violent expressions; but he was snubbed down—'That's not the way to speak to the bishop!' One query was, 'Why didn't you teach the Maori English, then there would be no trouble?' Answer, 'I have been doing this ever since I came; two of my scholars are here, and speak English freely; one you know, Henri, is with Mr. Powis.'

A voice called out, 'Yes, and he's the greatest rogue alive.' 'Very well,' said the Bishop; 'then you see knowing English is not everything.' Then one called out, 'You're grasping all the land.' Bishop: 'I will make you a present of all the land I own.' 'I don't mean your own; you don't seek land; you like power. I mean public Church land. You're reviving all the old abuses in England.' Bishop: 'I thought the endowments in England offered means of education to even the lowest, who may become Lord Chancellors, bishops, and the like.' The mob applauded this. At last a stump orator got up, and spoke so long that everybody went away, and the Bishop was left master of the field. Some gentlemen then came up and said, 'Don't, my lord, think this a sample of Taranaki feeling towards you.' However, three provincial councillors were very noisy among the mob. After this, one in every four began to touch his hat to this noble man. We hear from an officer who was there that the Bishop has won the hearts of all the military, specially the young men. He dined at mess, and they all gathered round him afterwards, listening to his views. He went all through the Ngatiruanui country, and was met with great cordiality. He was detained for a day among the Taranaki natives at first starting. They said he came to spy, and that no minister should go through their country. The bishop sat on his bundle, and said, 'Oh! but I can't listen to the voice of one man. That would be like Governor Browne. If all Ngatiruanui wish me not to come, I'll return.' 'You had better take up your bundle and return,' said the old chief. But he sat sturdily. He made them all laugh, for he said, 'I'm very like wheat. There's the Pakehas: they were the upper stone grinding me at Taranaki, and now you grind me here.' They were very hospitable and friendly, only he must not go on. In the evening came a deputation from Ruanui, praying him to come. So he slipped off in the early dusk the next morning, and went all through the district, marvelling at the good sense and right feeling of these maligned people. Not a word of vindictiveness had they to utter against us or the troops.

"He met a magistrate (a Maori) on his way to these people, with a large canvas bag; in that was the book of

English laws the late Governor had compiled in Maori, and the Chief Justice's smaller, but more practical book, and all the written results of their Courts (Runangas) at Tauranga. He was sent to attend the coming Runanga, and to discourse on the blessings of law. When our Primate got back to the village where his progress had been opposed the old chief apologised and said, 'Now let us how d'ye do; and henceforth all ministers may come and go as aforetime. You are the great billow that has crushed the canoe; you are the great fish that has broken through the net;' and so they parted most amicably."

The journey, made entirely alone and unarmed through the disaffected country, was accompanied by very much personal risk, but no fear tempted the bishop to refrain from administering rebuke to his Maori children.

About this time Renata, a friendly and very intelligent chief, wrote a lengthy letter to the British Commissioner, and followed it up by a famous speech, which was rapidly reported throughout the whole district, and was everywhere quoted by his fellow-countrymen. He cleverly availed himself of the Governor's interdiction on the possession by the natives of guns and powder; and with much dramatic power he said, "My custom with regard to my enemy is, if he have not a weapon, I give him one, that we may fight upon equal terms. Now, O Governor, are you not ashamed of my defenceless hands?" The imputation of cowardice on the part of the English told, and was very popular.

Within a few days of Renata's oration an English carter and his boy had been murdered by Maoris near Omata, and while these two events were fresh in their minds the bishop travelled through their country. He was in a native house at night sitting round the fire with a large party who were asking him questions about the meaning and value of portents and of marvels which were supposed to have happened. They told the bishop many of their national myths, and he said, "You have told me many strange things, now I will tell you a ghost story! They were at once attentive, and he thus began: "There was once a man who dreamed a dream that he was sitting with a large party round a fire, when out of the fire there rose up the figure of a man who said, 'Oh, Governor, if I had an enemy and he had no weapon, I would give him one before we fought. Oh, Governor, were you not ashamed of my defenceless hands?' and he stretched them out. The people all applauded the sentiment which was so just and true; but the dream went further. 'After a time there rose up another figure slowly out of the fire, and looked on them: it was a white face, very pale, and blood was streaming down it: the figure was dressed like an English boy, and held a bullock whip. Slowly he too stretched out his arm and said to the Maoris, 'Were you not ashamed of my defenceless hands'?"

The people asked the bishop to interpret the story, but they knew its meaning only too well, and by that mysterious intercommunication more rapid than an organized postal service, which half-civilized tribes have among themselves, it spread far and wide, and was talked of in every native pah and round every camp fire.

It was during this perilous walk that a fanatical prophet persuaded the people in a certain village not to receive the bishop into their houses, but to offer him a pigstye for his night's shelter. The bishop accepted the churlish accommodation, set to work and cleaned out the pig-stye, turning out the pigs, and then cut some clean fern and littered it down for his bed. His conduct astonished the Maoris and made them say, "You cannot *whaka-tutua* that man," *i.e.* degrade him from the character of a gentleman.[1]

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[1] This incident prompted the Bishop's brother, Professor Selwyn, to write the following lines:—

A Johnian Bishop in New Zealand wood,
Finding no host to give him bed or food,
Was kindly lodged by two of porcine breed,
Who left their straw to rest his weary head.

The Governor, although he was preparing for war, was hardly less anxious than the bishop that peace should be restored. At the close of 1861 he published a proclamation in Maori, which was widely circulated among the natives, and of which the conclusion and summary were in the following terms:—

"This, then, is what the Governor intends to do, to assist the Maori in the good work of establishing law and order. These are the first things:—The Runangas, the Assessors, the Policemen, the Schools, the Doctors, the Civil Commissioners to assist the Maoris to govern themselves, to make good laws, and to protect the weak against the strong. There will be many more things to be planned and to be decided; but about such things the Runangas and the Commissioners will consult. This work will be a work of time, like the growing of a large tree—at first there is the seed, then there is one trunk, then there are branches innumerable, and very many leaves: by and by, perhaps, there will be fruit also. But the growth of the tree is slow—the branches, the leaves, and fruit did not appear all at once, when the seed was put in the ground: and so will it be with the good laws of the Runanga. This is the seed which the Governor desires to sow:—the Runangas, the Assessors, the Commissioners, and the rest. By and by, perhaps, this seed will grow into a very great tree, which will bear good fruit on all its branches. The Maoris, then, must assist in the planting of this tree, in the training of its branches, in cultivating the ground

But hark! returning at the dead of night,
A friendly grunt is heard upon the right,
And on the left a snout salutes his cheek,
Which moved the chaplain in great wrath to speak:
Ho! friends and Maoris: this is *infra dig.*
Our Bishop's cheek insulted by a pig.
He must be killed and cooked. The Bishop smiled,
And said, My friends, in judgment be more mild.
These pigs have been my friends: have lodged me well,
And of their kindness I shall often tell.
And for the kiss you do not understand 'em;
It is the pig's admission *ad eundem.*[1]

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[1] Alluding to the ancient custom of kissing the cheek of eminent men who received degrees *honoris causâ*, or who were admitted *ad eundem*.

about its roots; and, as the tree grows, the children of the Maori, also, will grow to be a rich, wise, and prosperous people, like the English and those other nations which long ago began the work of making good laws and obeying them. This will be the work of peace, on which the blessing of Providence will rest,—which will make the storms to pass away from the sky,—and all things become light between the Maori and the Pakeha; and the heart of the Queen will then be glad when she hears that the two races are living quietly together, as brothers, in the good and prosperous land of New Zealand."

After the so-called peace of 1361 had been concluded, the road to Whanganui continued to be stopped, and a board of tolls was put up demanding 5*l*. from all settlers who should pass by that way, but 50*l*. from any minister of religion, whether native or English. The cause of this antipathy to the missionaries was the fact that they had always advised the people to accept what was so evidently the Will of God, and was clearly for their benefit, union with the English under the common government of the Queen: many therefore now believed, that all along their teachers had been doing the behests of the English and preparing the way for the subjugation of the natives.

The greater part of 1862 was spent in that uncertain condition of nominal peace which threatened at any moment to be interrupted by the war for which each party was in its separate fashion preparing. Sir George Grey was busy in making his roads, which would facilitate the manœuvres of the British army, whenever their services should be called into requisition: the Maoris not only continued to nurse their grievances, but they had seized on a block of land at Tataraimaka as a material guarantee for the restoration of the Waitara.

In October, 1862, a great national meeting was held at the Ngatihaua village of Peria, to which invitations had been issued several months previously. Several of the Waikato chiefs had even invited the Governor to attend, and those who had not joined in the invitation had refrained only because it was considered that the speakers would probably indulge in strong language, and would possibly say things which would affront the Governor and compromise their character as courteous hosts. The difference between the Governor and the Maoris, between what the one proposed and the other would accept, was in itself small, but it represented nothing less than the old question of nationality. If both parties withdrew from the Waitara, it would look like a conference of nations, and the English might take Tataraimaka and welcome: but to let the Governor remain in possession would seem to be the act of a conquered people.

The bishop, having no fear of hard words, attended the Conference which was held at Matamata, the residence of the King-maker, Wiremu Tamahana, and he tried to repress this passion for nationality which overpowered all other considerations. The first encounter occurred on a Sunday. Wiremu Tamahana had preached to the assembled multitude on the words, "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity," and had illustrated the doctrine by relating the benefits produced by the union of the Maori tribes, once constantly at war, but now consolidated into one brotherhood under a Maori King. The bishop heard that the sermon had produced a great effect upon the audience, and asked leave to conduct service in the afternoon, when he preached a very different sermon on the same text. On the following day the bishop was allowed to address a Native assembly, and he thus availed himself of the opportunity:—

"Here am I, a mediator for New Zealand. My work is mediation. I am not merely a Pakeha, or a Maori; I am a half-caste. I have eaten your food, I have slept in your houses; I have talked with you, journeyed with you, prayed with you, partaken of the Holy Communion with you. Therefore I say I am a half-caste. I cannot rid myself of my half-caste; it is in my body, in my flesh, in my bones, in my sinews. Yes, we are all of us half-caste. Your dress is half-caste—a Maori mat and English clothes; your strength is half-caste—your courage Maori, your weapons English guns. Your soldiers are half-caste—the man a Maori, the uniform and word of command English. Your 'mana' (authority) is half-caste—a Maori office with an English name. Your faith is half-caste—the first preachers, your fathers in God, English, your own hearts the mother, to whom was born faith. Therefore I say, we are all half-castes; therefore let us dwell together with one faith, one love, and one law. Yes, let them be one. I have not forgotten the motto of old Potatau [the Maori King], Faith, Love, and Law. He did not say to us Let there be many forms of faith, many forms of love, many forms of law, but Let there be one form of each. My feet stand upon that word of his. Do not suppose that I have come here uninvited. W. Thompson has invited me. The Council of Waikato has agreed that to-day I should be allowed to speak my mind to you. Well, then, carefully weigh these special thoughts:—

"1st. Let the law be one.

"2d. Let the Waitara question be decided by law.

"3d. Let Tataraimaka (near Taranaki) be occupied quietly by the English owners.

"First. 'Let the law be one.' You have heard what W. Thompson said about the Duke of Newcastle's despatch. I will explain that despatch to you. If you wish Matutaera and his Council to make laws for you, make known your regulations to the Governor; he will see them confirmed in your province for all alike; just as there is a Provincial Council at Wellington, another at Auckland, another at Napier, and each with their own superintendent. They make their own laws for their harbours, their roads, their sales, their lands, &c.; then it remains for the Governor to confirm their laws. It is not a partial law, or a class law, but there is one law for all. Therefore I say to you, agree to this first thought of mine, 'Let the law be one.'

"Now for the second point, 'Let the Waitara case be decided by law.' This is not my idea only—it is yours,

W. Thompson; it is yours, Ngatikahungunu—it was what we all said. At the end of the war at Taranaki, you, W. Thompson, said, 'As for Waitara, let the law look to it.' What law? The Maori's law, or the English law? No. The law of us all together. Ngatikahungunu (Renata's tribe), this was your word, 'If there is a question about a bushel of wheat, it is tried by law; about a horse, it is tried; about a pig, it is tried; but about land, a great matter, it is not tried by law.' This was what we all said formerly, at least all of us English who took your part on that occasion. 'The fault Governor Browne committed was, that he did not try the Waitara question by law.' This was my sickness, that it was not tried. This is my medicine, that it should be tried by law. Who shall try it? Both of us together—your men that are skilled in Maori usage, our men that are skilled in English law. It was one man of yours who began the wrong, namely, Te Teira. It was one man of ours who continued the wrong, Governor Browne. Now all of us together, the whole body, will set right the wrong of one member. Agree to this second point of mine, 'Let the Waitara question be decided by law.'

"Now for the third, 'Let Tataraimaka be occupied by its English owners.' This is no new word of mine. Last year William King said to Tamati Ngapora and me, 'Soon it will be all clear.' I went to Taranaki on the faith of this. I was not believed. You have heard of my trouble there. It is over now; Hori Ngatai and I have made friends. But the chief cause of my sorrow is for the widows and orphans who are living at the town, at New Plymouth, deprived of their lands. They have done no wrong. Let some of us go and restore them to their homes. You and I, W. Thompson, should do this, and 'Let Tataraimaka be quietly occupied by the English owners.'

"Here the Bishop turned to Matutaera, and raised his hat, and said, 'Matutaera, head chief of Waikato, here am I, entreating you, by the name of our father Potatau, who died with feelings of love to men, agree to the principles by which we shall all live happily.'

"The Bishop turns to W. Thompson. 'My son, W.

Thompson, here am I, begging you in the name of the dead at Taranaki, agree to these principles.'

"The Bishop turns to the whole assembly. 'O all ye tribes of New Zealand, sitting in council here, I beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we all believe and hope, agree to the proposal by which we shall all live in peace and happiness.'"

The bishop's arguments, so fearlessly and impartially urged, convinced several of the chiefs, but did not alter the general resolution of the meeting. Wiremu Tamahana called on his brother-chiefs to allow the Waitara title to be investigated, and demanded that Tataraimaka should be given up to the English: but he could not move the tribes, and he would not desert them, lest by so doing he should break up the Maori independence. Early in 1863 the Governor without any warning came down among the chiefs of the Waikato and was well received. They assured him the Maori King had not been set up in consequence of the Waitara business: that they had had the project in mind long ago, even in the days of Sir George's former residence in the colony. The Governor on his side told them that he meant at once to seize Tataraimaka, and of this the Maoris admitted the justice. They implored him not to bring a steamer up the Waikato: small boats and canoes they did not mind, but a steamer could bring troops and great guns into their country; but the Governor was firm in the matter, and told them that after he had towed their canoes against the stream he believed they would go to war with him if he took the steamer away.

In March 1863 a Court-house built at the Waikato, but which was believed by the natives to be a masked stockade, was thrown into the river; this probably hastened matters, and in the month of April Sir G. Grey took the field. Accompanied by the General in command, the Colonial Premier, the Minister for Native Affairs, and a large military force, he went down to Taranaki by sea. Battalion after battalion was moved from Auckland, and at Taranaki, and for a large district round, stockades and redoubts were built on the land of natives whom we had never conquered.

When matters had gone thus far it was discovered that the native title to the Waitara was after all sound, and nothing remained in honour but that the English should give it up. Unfortunately the proper order was reversed, and Tataraimaka was retaken by force before the Waitara was restored. This led at once to hostilities, and after numerous warnings had been given by the Maoris, and the delay of a whole month after Tataraimaka had been retaken, two officers and seven soldiers were shot down as they were marching along the seashore, and the Taranaki war broke out again in full force. "Now I must give up the Waitara," said the Governor, when he heard of the murder. "It would have been better," said the Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary, "if the reoccupation of the Tataraimaka block, and the abandonment of the Waitara, had been effected at one and the same time." "We can see clearly the error of our tribes in slaying the Pakehas," said the eloquent chief Renata, "but at the same time we cannot lose sight of the error of the Governor in not making known his decision about the Waitara at the proper time."

One month after the murder had been committed, the British troops took a Maori position by storm, and H.M.S. *Eclipse* fired Armstrong shells at long range among the Maoris on the beach. The British lion being thus somewhat appeased, the bulk of the troops were withdrawn to Auckland, and H.M. 57th regiment was stationed at Taranaki. The colonists having tasted revenge, desired to have more: hatred and panic divided the white inhabitants: it was believed that schemes were afloat for the destruction of the whole European population, and the abhorrence of the Maoris was so intense that they were not safe in the town.

An iron-plated steamer arrived from Sydney, and the General commenced his advance.

"And here we are," wrote the Bishop of Wellington, "in the second act of the Waitara war. Messrs. D. and D. B., strong supporters of the war, investigated the Waitara case, and have advised the Governor to relinquish the land, finding that Te Teira had no right to it, and that he had deceived the Governor, and that Parris, the Commissioner, had suppressed or concealed from the Government many things. All of us, therefore, who took the strong and decided line we did, were fully justified in doing so. But the act of injustice so thoroughly disgusted the Maoris, and gave them such a thorough distrust of us, that we cannot put things into the *status quo ante.* And the late war demoralized them, and encouraged them to engage in another. And then that horrid outrage in May was committed on the escort, and then the Government very foolishly published a proclamation confiscating the land on which the murder was committed, which land belongs to a loyal native teacher living at Waikanae near here, so that the whole attention of the Maoris has been diverted from the disgraceful murder to the unjust confiscation of a loyal Maori's land. And then the Governor invaded Waikato, whereupon many natives who disapproved of the murder have joined in resisting the aggressive movement."

Ten thousand troops were now on the move, furnished with all appliances for taking the field, but not a single chaplain was with them. The bishop, regardless of consequences, did what he believed to be his immediate duty, sympathizing not at all with the object of the expedition, and knowing that his presence with the soldiers would be misconstrued by his Maori flock into an espousing of the cause of their enemies; but he could not allow 10,000 men to go to battle with no one to care for their spiritual interests; he therefore joined the army as chaplain, and at the same time protected the Native Teachers and their flocks. He lived in camp, pitching his own tent with a skill which provoked the envy of the soldiers, and which secured for him dry quarters while his comrades were soaked. Probably no part of his career was more noble and fearless than this: as it turned out, his action compromised him with both parties, but the fact that it did so is probably a testimony to the righteousness of his proceedings.

An officer who was present describes how, when the steamer was taking the first detachment of soldiers up the Waikato, he saw through his telescope the figure of a man on foot rapidly making his way to the mission station: after a while he came to a small tributary stream, and he was observed to be feeling for the bottom with a long stick, and when it proved too deep to be forded he was seen to strip, to tie his clothes in a bundle on his head, and to swim across. This was the Bishop of New Zealand hastening to prepare the native clergyman for the incursion of English soldiers, and to try to protect him, and his school, and his flock of sheep, which represented all his worldly goods. It was a characteristic deed, and years afterwards, when people saw him sitting in the chair of S. Chad, beneath the figure of S. Christopher, with staff in hand wading through the water, and bearing the child Christ on his shoulders, they were fain to see a fitness in the coincidence, and to believe that the saint of the early legend was at best but a prototype of the great missionary bishop of the nineteenth century.

On July 13 the General crossed the river in force, and the bishop wrote, "The Rubicon is past, and war is declared against New Zealand." "With a heavy heart," he took up his quarters in the porch of the church at Drury, "a most comfortable chamber, eight feet by eight, with a window!" His duties were not limited to those of a military chaplain, for he had to go long distances and warn the settlers, as massacres were now frequent, the Maoris lying in ambuscade, and shooting all who came within shot. Each action gave him much to do in the hospitals, and he records the high opinion which he had formed of the soldiers, the patient cheerfulness of the wounded, the good feeling that existed between officers and men. The dates of the bishop's letters at this period are strangely in contrast with those of former years. "Queen's Redoubt," "Sailor's Camp," "Head-quarters," &c., are very different from the peaceful cabin of the *Undine* and the study at St. John's College, but the work in the field was as fruitful and as noble as any. At one time the bishop is visiting a Maori deacon whom nothing would induce to desert his station: at another, as at Rangiriri, where a great battle was fought, he came upon the churchyard "where a large party were at work on thirty newly-made graves; each soldier lay in his separate grave, regiment by regiment, company by company, comrades in life and in death not divided." At another time he is burying a dead Maori, whose body was found in the trenches: the English soldiers laid him in the grave, and the bishop gave an address, in which he reminded them that the Maori clergy had in several instances given Christian burial to our soldiers. "If there must be war," he said, "our great effort ought to be at least to de-brutalize it; and the army, from the General downwards, have shown every willingness that it should be so."

In the midst of these trying labours the bishop found time to write frequent letters, in which there is an uniform consistency of opinion as to the justice of the war.

The two following letters to his sons in England are taken from among many written at this period:—

August 31*st*, 1863.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

Another month closes upon us still in a state of war, and likely I fear to remain, but still there does not seem to be so much heart in the war as might have been expected. I cannot think that the native people in general believe in the justice of their cause. At Waitara they were convinced that they were in the right; now they cannot justify the unprovoked attack at Taranaki, which yet their chief men refuse to disavow. If it were not for the deep-seated feeling of distrust, which of course grew immensely during the Waitara war, they would soon agree to terms. I am very glad that you went away just in time, not because of any danger which you may have escaped, for I wish neither my children nor myself to neglect any public duty from fear of danger; but because I am just as glad that you should not be in arms against my Maori children, however rebellious they may be. Neither is the state of our young men bettered by the war, for they are all enrolled in the militia, and in danger of acquiring evil habits and a low tone of thought and speech. My duties are now chiefly with the soldiers, who are scattered over nearly twenty stations.

RANGIAHUA, OR TAIPOURI,
(Head-quarters Camp),
Dec. 4th, 1863.

MY VERY DEAR WILLIAM AND JOHN,

I must send you a joint letter, as it will relate to public affairs. You will have heard that I am acting as military chaplain with the army in Waikato, taking alternate fortnights of duty with Archdeacon Maunsell. When the war began in earnest it was necessary to have some one on the spot, as there were continual cases of wounded men to be visited, and dead to be buried. By a despatch from the War Office the General was authorized to appoint as chaplains any missionaries who had been driven from their stations. So I named Mr. Ashwell for Head-quarters camp, and Mr. Morgan for Drury. Archdeacon Maunsell was then at his own station, but he has since left it, and has joined the military work. . . . .

It is a strange thing to be moving up the Waikato with an army, after twenty years of annual visits of a peaceful kind. To see the hills crowned with English forts, and steamers smoking on the river, is a strange and to me a painful subject of reflection. Whether we could have done anything more to avert the war I doubt, for our influence as clergymen has waned ever since the Maori King was set up, and we refused to alter our prayers for the Queen. Evil counsels have prevailed, and the people are now reaping the fruit of the seed of discord which they have sown. In all the most serious engagements they have been defeated with loss. They have been these :—

Katikara, south of Taranaki, where they lost thirty or forty; we very few.

Koheroa, on the Waikato, where the Maori loss was about the same.

Meremere, a strong position turned and evacuated without loss of either side.

Rangiriri, a very strong position, most ingeniously defended with earthworks, against which four several assaults were made in vain, with a loss of forty killed and eighty wounded on our side. The garrison being entirely surrounded, surrendered at discretion the next day, in number about 180, including some of the leading men of Waikato. They are now on board the *Curaçoa* man-of-war. . . . . The General complimented the prisoners upon their gallant defence. . . . .

So ended the battle for that day, and the General and staff lay down in the trench nearest to the keep, while the sappers were digging down the earthwork with a view to the renewal of the assault in the morning through the breach. The General's orderly climbed up on the parapet to fire down into the keep, and was ordered down several times by the aide-de-camp. In spite of this he went up again, and had just turned his head round to say, "They are all gone, there is no one there," when a ball passed through his head and he fell down dead almost at the General's feet. All night the Maoris kept up a fire, and then at break of day hoisted a white flag. The soldiers instantly rushed up and fraternized with the Maoris, giving them biscuit. Not so the civilians at Otahuka, some of whom are said to have thrown stones at them as they passed along.

The fact of his thus being encamped with the troops led, as has been already stated, not unnaturally, to his being much distrusted by the natives. The real history of this misconception was thus explained by an English officer in high command. One day after a hard fight between the English and natives in and around a swamp, our men had driven off the main body of the natives, and he (the Colonel) was returning to his quarters in the evening, inwardly thanking God that he had escaped without a scratch, when he met the bishop going towards the swamp.

"What are you after, my lord?" "Going to look for the wounded." "Oh, but there are a good many natives in the swamp to look after them." "I don't know that," said the bishop, and tramped on towards the swamp. The officer could not let him go alone; so he turned back, and accompanied him to the scene of the late action. The bishop led the way among the toi-toi (pampas grass), and called out in Maori, "Any wounded man here?" "Bang, bang," was the sharp reply from several guns. "All right," said the bishop, "and now let us go into the other part where the firing was hottest." Off they went, and again the bishop cried out, "Any wounded man here?" A weak thin voice replied, "Tenei ahau," (Yes, here am I). They made their way towards him; picked him up, and carried him off the field on a check shepherd's plaid that one of them had. They had several miles to go before they could reach the Redoubt and get his wound attended to. As they were going, they fell in with two soldiers making for the camp, and got them to take turns occasionally in carrying the man, while the colonel and the bishop carried the men's rifles. Some natives saw the bishop carrying a rifle, and spread a report that he had fought against them. This poisoned their minds against him for two years or more. At last, on the occasion of a great meeting of natives, some speaker denounced the bishop as one of their foes, when up got the wounded Maori and told his people the true story; and then all their bitterness and hostility turned to admiration and gratitude.

It needed but time to reveal the whole integrity of the bishop's motives, but all that he did for both races during that disastrous period will probably never be known in this world. One who shared his labours has kindly contributed to this memoir the following testimony to their variety, and the unselfish care which prompted them:—

Royal Dockyard, Sheerness,
July 12*th*, 1878.

As there was no army chaplain in the field in the beginning of the war, I with the consent of my commanding officer put myself under the bishop's direction to supply services to the troops. He was taking me one day from the Queen's Redoubt to the Head-quarters, along a road through dense bush said to be infested with Maoris, and by which no officer was allowed to travel without an escort; but he would not hamper himself with one. We came to a part of the road on the side of a steep hill, full of deep ruts. He told me to pull up and hold his horse. He dismounted and set to work to fill up the ruts, saying as he laboured that the waggons for provisioning the troops might get capsized. I was reminded of the good Samaritan, as this, like the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, had the title of "the bloody way." Further on we came to a place where a company of the 18th Royal Irish were stationed. They were not remarkable for sobriety, and as we were passing the stockade, the bishop saw a man lying drunk without anything on his head. He dismounted and dragged him a considerable distance, until he placed him under the shelter of a tree, remarking to me, "those men do not know the danger of sun-stroke." . . . .

S. W. Payne (Chaplain R.N.).

In addition to the divided feelings with which the bishop was a daily witness of the terrible war, there was present the sad disappointment at the conduct of the natives, for whom it would seem that he had laboured in vain: but nothing appears to have exhausted his patience, nothing was in his eyes labour thrown away, if only it were done for God. As in the early days of his episcopate he had thankfully ministered to a race of whom he said, "it was evident that they were dying out," so now amid the apostasies and relapses of those on whom he had bestowed the labour of the best years of his life, he had no greater desire than to shepherd the faithful few, and to be ready to receive the penitent if their hearts were touched, and they returned. In the midst of these sorrows he wrote to the Bishop of Adelaide:—

> "I have now one simple missionary idea before me—of watching over the remnant that is left. Our native work is a remnant in two senses: the remnant of a decaying people, and the remnant of a decaying faith. The works of which you hear are not the works of heathens: they are the works of baptized men, whose love has grown cold from causes common to all Churches of neophytes from Laodicæa downwards."

And while he was thus grieving over one portion of his people, the other was regarding him with suspicion and animosity, as having unduly espoused the cause of their natural enemies the owners of the soil. Well did Bishop Patteson write about this time: "How often do I think with reference to him of a 'prophet is not without honour,' &c. Little the Auckland settlers know the man 'that standeth among them:' but let them say what they may, even they respect and admire him so greatly that his name must ever be a power in the land."

In the early days of 1864 the British troops dispersed the natives, who fled to their mountain fastnesses; the Waikato was held by our soldiers, and some forces were landed at Tauranga to carry out the new policy of confiscation of native lands and property, in which by a blunder loyal and friendly owners suffered with those who had been carrying on the war against us. In the interval of active operations in the field the bishop wrote to his elder son, then contemplating admission to Holy Orders, a letter, which has its own value as giving his idea of what should be a curate's manner of life in a large town parish. Ultimately Mr. Selwyn was ordained to the curacy of Chaddesley Corbett near to Kidderminster, but with a small population, and altogether in strong contrast with that large and populous town. But the bishop found in a less arduous sphere no excuse for an easy estimate of ministerial obligations, and the two letters are given as valuable pictures of ministerial duty whether in a large or a small parish :—

(I.)

TE RORI WAIPA (Head-quarters Camp),
Feb. 4th, 1864.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

I am again in the country through which I travelled with you, but under very different circumstances. For want of other military chaplains I have attached myself to the army, believing that where the wounded and the dying are, there is the place for the minister of the Gospel. Since Rangiriri there has been little or no loss of life till Tuesday last, when Lieutenant Mitchel of the *Esk* was shot on the steamer *Avon* while coming up the Waipa. We fear that his wound is mortal. To-day the plot is thickening. We are within one and a half miles of a strong native position, Patarangi, and about two miles from another, Pikopiko; and as I write a dropping fire is going on continually with small arms, and an occasional shot from the Armstrong guns, which are being brought into position about 1,000 yards from the pa. The General has 3,000 men; the Natives are not supposed to have more than 1,200, but they have so strengthened their positions by earthworks that he is obliged to proceed cautiously and systematically. The popular idea of "rushing" seems to have been abandoned since Rangiriri.

The scenes around me make me very thankful that you escaped just in time, to avoid being enrolled in the Auckland militia. The worst part of the war is the frightful demoralization that is going on among our young men. Instead of this state of things, you will I hope before you receive this have been called to be a servant of the Prince of Peace; and may the same Holy Spirit, who I trust has called you to the work, confirm and guide you in it. Nothing can be more pleasing to me than your connexion with Mr. Claughton and Kidderminster. It brings back to mind the pleasure which I felt when George Herbert[1] entered the ministry under the same pastoral guidance

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[1] Now Dean of Hereford.

I feel sure that you will now learn what real work means, and will remember what I said to you about the employment of time. In a parish like Kidderminster there will be no idea of duty from 10 to 1, and pleasure afterwards but every hour will have its allotted task, and it will be your meat and drink to do your Master's will, and to finish His work. If I live till the 21st February, I shall not fail to be with you in spirit, praying that you may be a good and faithful minister of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(II.)

AUCKLAND, N.Z., *May 7th*, 1864.

MY VERY DEAR WILLIAM,

Before you receive this I hope that you will have been ordained, and will have settled down to your work with F. Marriott. I should have preferred Kidderminster, because I fear that in a small parish you will be exposed to the temptation of doing half a day's work and considering it a whole one. Accept my assurance that even a small parish is enough to occupy a clergyman's whole time, and to employ all his thoughts: and yet not enough to overtax his energies and make relaxation necessary. In a parish of moderate size the work may be thoroughly done every parishioner regularly visited, whether in sickness or in health: every birth of a child followed up by a visit to the parents to arrange the time of baptism and the choice of sponsors: every projected marriage a reason for a special interest in the young people: confirmation classes not called together hurry-skurry when the bishop's notice comes, but carried on as a matter of course, a new class begun as soon as the last has been confirmed: the schools not merely visited but actually taught: truant children hunted up: absentees from church, young or old, mildly admonished: and above all such careful study of the Word of God for its own sake as may make the composition and delivery of sermons a work of small difficulty; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: frequent catechising (not questions at random, but upon a train of thought prepared before, and to one definite point), will give you freedom in composition and oral delivery, besides enabling you to suit your instruction to the capacity of your hearers or scholars, by knowledge of their actual want. Then there will be a system of parochial charities, for all which I refer you to your aunt Letitia; penny banks, coal clubs, clothing clubs, shoe clubs, &c., all of which are chiefly valuable for the access which they give a clergyman to the hearths at least, if not to the hearts, of his parishioners. It required men full of the Holy Ghost and of power even to serve tables. These manifold works will leave little spare time, morning, noon, or night; and, however true it may be that half a loaf is better than no bread, I hope that you will give your parishioners the whole loaf. May the Holy Spirit guide and strengthen you in this blessed work.

The reckless and indiscriminate confiscation of land of the so-called rebels gave fresh vitality to the Maoris' falling cause. In April, 1864, the war broke out again at Tauranga, and the British were repulsed with much slaughter at the Gate Pa on April 29th. In the same month the Paimarire or Hau-hau fanaticism sprung up as it were in a single night, and then the Maoris failed in successive battles, and being thus divided among themselves, were conquered by the disciplined forces of the British army with comparative ease. In July, 1864, the Tauranga chiefs gave in their allegiance, and were punished for the defence which they had made in behalf of their ancestral territory by the confiscation of one-fourth of it.

There was not—and there has never been—any formal termination of the war: the bishop's counsel, spurned when offered, has been adopted without acknowledgment, and the quarrel has been allowed to sink into an informal armistice. The Government claiming to assert that all Maoris were subjects of the Queen, could not in consistency make any treaty or terms with persons whom it pronounced to be insurgents and rebels: its policy was, suppression of the rebellion, punishment of the leaders, and then a general amnesty. But this was found to be difficult of execution; there were isolated instances of submission, but the majority of the Waikatos withdrew to the tract outside of the confiscated block, and there they have remained unmolested to the present day, their territory being known as the King's Country and themselves refusing to acknowledge any allegiance to the English Crown. The strict isolation which they maintained at first has been of late considerably relaxed, and they come to the market at Alexandra just within the boundary to buy and sell: their country may become an Alsatia, and on this account it is very desirable that they should cease to live thus cut off from the rest of the colony.

After a while both parties were weary of the strife, and with the withdrawal of the Queen's troops quietness was restored to the land to this extent, that the fightings were almost limited to the Paimarire against the friendly natives: the former were the victims of one of the most horrible delusions that ever made captive the hearts of men. A Taranaki chief, named Horopapera Te Ua, had shown such symptoms of insanity that his people had bound him, first with cords and afterwards with chain and padlock; from both of these he escaped, and declared that the angel Gabriel had released him. From a lunatic he came to be esteemed a prophet; he foretold a great victory, which was supposed to have been realized when a small reconnoitring party of soldiers were cut off. He professed to have received revelations from the Angel Gabriel. A worship was compiled for his followers, which was a mixture of Romanism, Wesleyanism, and Church doctrines, associated with the fanaticism and licence of Mohammedanism. To propagate this creed by the sword became a virtue, and no restraints were put on the worst passions of our nature. Under the influence of visions some of them reverted to cannibalism. Something of every creed they adopted: they affected the name of "Universal;" called their doctrine "Paimarire" (all-holy), and themselves "Hau-

haus," (or barkers) from their habit of repeating the sound "hau" accompanied by a deep breathing from the chest.

The emissaries of this fanaticism were sent in two bands through the country with their routes duly prescribed to them by the authority of their founder. Their instructions were that they should travel peaceably, carrying with them human heads, which they were to deliver to a chief in Poverty Bay. Their object was not fighting, but to gain the adhesion of the tribes through whose territory they passed; at Whanganui one contingent was defeated in February, 1865, by the friendly natives under John Williams, a catechist of the Church Missionary Society, who died of his wounds, and was buried with military honours, the British ensign being his pall. After this defeat the fanatics set out with the determination to murder every missionary whom they met, and there was no time in which to warn those who were exposed to this new peril.

On March 2nd the second contingent of these fanatics reached Opotiki, in Poverty Bay. They found the tribe already in great excitement, and they uttered a bitter lamentation, unlike anything ever heard before; it was a mourning for the lands which they had lost, and it had an overpowering effect on the bystanders; it touched their *amor patriæ* and infected those who had hitherto stood aloof. The few English who were present described the condition of the whole tribe as one of raving madness.

Just at this moment a small schooner entered the harbour having on board two clergymen, Messrs. Völkner and Grace, who were at once seized upon: the former was the bearer of medicines and nourishing food for the sick stricken with the fever which had been epidemic in Poverty Bay; the next morning, with the blasphemous cry that it was the will of God, he was murdered under circumstances exceptionally revolting, and Mr. Grace was taken prisoner.

Immediately on hearing this appalling news the bishop went down to Poverty Bay in the hope of rescuing Mr.

Grace, but it was a delicate and perilous work. On March 16th, however, it was accomplished, and he wrote the following grateful letter to Mrs. Selwyn:—

H.M.S. "Eclipse," Opotiki,
Thursday Evening, March 16th, 1865.

. . . . We have Mr. Grace safe on board, God be thanked; we sailed on Friday, 10th.

On Saturday at noon we reached Tauranga, saw the archdeacon and Colonel Greer, but got no new information. Sailed on to Kawakawa, Hicks' Bay; arrived just after morning service at 11. Rutene, Hori Tapore, and others came off, and reported that the party who had threatened Bishop Williams had gone by the inland route. Rota not there, but at Tauranga; sailed on and anchored in Poverty Bay at daylight on Monday morning. Found the English settlers in great excitement, as the Paimarire party had just arrived. Hired horses on the spot. Captain Fremantle, Mr. Rice (native officer), and I, reached the bishop about nine, greeted by a friendly party in arms of 300 or 400 men, headed by Anara Matele. Went to the bishop's house, and found all well, and thankfully acknowledging the stedfastness of their people, who had gathered from all parts for their protection. Went out to a meeting, at which the bishop's army appeared in fighting costume, with more of Maori usage than I liked to see, as I would rather have seen the native clergymen with a hundred quiet men in brown coats than 400 native warriors in brown skins. However, the relief from anxiety was so instantaneous and complete, that I was not disposed to question the means. Rota, Raniera Kawhia, Hare Taukae, and Tamihaua Huata were all there. The substance of the speeches was that they would not allow any of their Pakehas to be touched, but that they would not interfere to apprehend the murderers. I then asked them to write a letter and send a deputation to require the Opotiki people to give up Mr. Grace. This was immediately mixed up with a condition that Hori Tupaea should be given up. I said that I had nothing to do with his capture or his release, but that I could assure them that he had returned to Tauranga. Some professed to doubt this. I begged them not to mix up the two questions, but failed in persuading them. In the evening we returned to the ship, an old chief having first warned me against sleeping on board, because he said the Paimarires would drag the ship ashore by their enchantments. On the Tuesday morning Leonard Williams came down with the letter and deputation of two; one of them our old friend Ruitona Piwanga. The letter contained the same condition about Hori Tapaea; that we should go to Tauranga, and bring Hori, and return with him to Opotiki, and then Mr. Grace would be given up. This was not what we wished, as we felt that we might go to Tauranga and find that Colonel Greer had no instructions, and that he might refuse to act without the Governor, and that the Governor might not have returned, and that all this time poor Mrs. Grace would be in the same state of anxiety. On the side of the Government it would be of course unpleasant to have to consent to an exchange of prisoners. However, we had no choice, so we came away with our letter, and the same night anchored again in Kawakawa (Hicks' Bay). Here we expected to find a letter from Mr. Angus White, now at Waiapu, to whom Mr. Rice had written, but the messenger had not returned. Here was a new perplexity, so we waited another night in vain, in hopes of his return, as we felt a little anxious about Mr. White. At 4 A.M. we steamed out and passed the *Ladybird* anchored in Whare-kahika Bay (Hicks' West Bay) without seeing her; she however saw us and steamed out after us, and we met and saw S. and H. Williams, with whom we took counsel, and agreed that they should go and see Mr. White at Waiapu, and then on to Tauranga, while we went to Opotiki. They could give us no information about Mr. Grace. Steamed on to Omaio, twenty miles from Opotiki, and went on shore among a friendly party, who told us that Mr. Grace was certainly at Opotiki; that Jao, master of the schooner *Eclipse*, had been allowed to sail to Tauranga to fetch Hori Tapaea, and bring him back, upon which Mr. Grace would be released. I sent a note from this place by special messenger, to Mr. Grace, but it never reached him. Anchored for the night six miles from Opotiki, the weather, on this as all other nights in this cruise, being beautifully calm. At daylight this day (Thursday 16th), we anchored off Opotiki. The masts of a schooner appeared in the river, which those on board pronounced to be the *Eclipse*. At 8 A.M. we landed our deputation with their letter, fully expecting to have to wait the whole day for an answer ; about nine, a boat, to our surprise, came out of the river with the two Levys and two other white men. Why Mr. Grace did not come with them did not clearly appear, as they said he was living with them in the same house, and no guard was kept over him. Either they were afraid to bring him, or he had given his word not to escape. Captain Fremantle was anxious to go in his boat; but this I feared might endanger Mr. Grace's life, as horsemen were scampering to and fro along the beach, and it seemed impossible that Mr. Grace could now escape unobserved. Presently two Maoris appeared on the beach who were said to be friendly. Levy went in his boat, as he thought, to fetch them, but returned to our great delight with Mr. Grace. You may suppose how thankful I felt, and what a warm welcome he received from every one. His story I have not time to write, but you already know most of the material points. The boats of the ship went in immediately to tow out the schooner, and in an hour she was clear out, with all the white men on board except one, who was not to be found. God be thanked.

After Mr. Grace's rescue the Hau-haus went down to Otaki and threatened the Church natives. Roman Catholic Maoris were considered to be friends of the King-party, as they paid allegiance to their bishops and to the Pope and not to the Queen. These men told Archdeacon Hadfield that if he would make his escape they would protect him ; but he replied that he should under no circumstances leave his post, that he was prepared to lay his bones at Otaki, whether after a violent or a natural death, but nothing would induce him to move; and his resolute courage brought the whole tribe to his feet.

The bishop had gone down to Christchurch to attend the General Synod, where, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, matters of unusual importance were discussed. Wherever a friend was in danger, there it had always been his impulse to place himself ; but things were now altered, and he might be doing harm rather than good. But it must have cost him much unhappiness to have written this letter :—

WELLINGTON, *June 7th,* 1865.

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,

In former times, if I had heard that you were in any trouble, I should have set out at once to join you ; and I am ready to do so now if you think that I can be of any assistance. But I do not like to come without first communicating with you, as I am now so suspected and slandered by all the King natives. I am ready, however, at a moment's notice, at your bidding, and will put off my return to Auckland if I hear that you would like me to come.

We have offered up our prayers for you this morning, and constantly think and speak of you. We have no great anxiety on your account, but our interest in you and yours is not measured by the reports of the day.

May God strengthen and preserve you.

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

One contribution the bishop made to the alleviation of the evils of which the colony was the victim—a contribution becoming his office. He ordered a prayer to be offered up in all the churches of New Zealand during the continuance of the plague, and it will be seen that the Form of Prayer which he drew up differs from others which some may remember as having been used in similar times of trouble, and which appeared to dictate to the All-Wise how and for how long He should allow the scourge of war to visit His people :—

"O Lord, whose never-failing Providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth, we humbly beseech Thee to receive our prayer for the Governor of this land and for all who are in authority, that they may be so guided by Thee in all things, that the dominion of our Queen may be established in this land in justice and mercy, according to Thy Holy Will.

"We commend to Thee, merciful Father, all our brethren who are gone forth from amongst us to bear arms and to be exposed to the peril of death; all who are thereby hindered from worshipping Thee in Thy house, that Thou wilt keep them from forgetfulness of Thee and of Thy holy law: all who are sick; all who are wounded; all who are drawing nigh unto death; all who are bereaved. And we pray that Thy Spirit may so rule in all of us as to keep us from every unbecoming and unchristian temper; from all cruel, and unmerciful, and vindictive thoughts.

"And we beseech Thee, good Lord, to restrain the evil passions of men, and to deliver this land from the misery of strife and bloodshed, and to pour out upon all the people of the land the spirit of concord, and obedience, and peace. And this we pray through Him who is the Prince of Peace and Saviour of all men, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

It is hardly necessary to state that the conduct of the bishop during the war entirely won the hearts of both officers and men with whom he was encamped. He used to ride most Sunday mornings from the furthest Redoubt, after holding a short service, and then onward from camp to camp, a distance often amounting to forty miles, holding seven or eight services in the day. There was rather a high ridge, along which the bishop had to ride between the two Redoubts. For the space of two miles it was exposed to the fire from the Maoris in the bush below. The bishop rode at full canter. The officers used to watch him with their field-glasses. They would see a puff of smoke, and hear a "ping," look at the bishop galloping along, and say, "It's all right; they missed him!" This occurred frequently. The bishop used to say he could count *on his fingers* the risks of his life which he had ever run, but then he did not reckon these, because he knew the Maoris were poor shots, or their powder was so bad.

At the end of the war his services were publicly recognised by the medal, given to all the military who had taken part in the war, being granted to him; the officers and men to whom he had ministered, either on active service, or when sick and wounded; and the friends of those whom he had nursed and tended to the last, subscribed and gave him money for the ornamentation of his private chapel. It was with that donation that he procured the painted windows in the private chapel of the palace in Lichfield. All the subjects of those windows represent what may be called the Christian and specially chivalrous side of the soldier's life. All the lights on the south side are filled with subjects taken from the Old Testament; all on the north from the New Testament. The west window has the arms of the See of New Zealand and those of the See of Lichfield, and a copy of the medal which Dean Champneys caused to be struck and given to his school children when he was rector of Whitechapel, and when they used to make their penny collections for the bishop's Maori schools. The medal showed the globe on Mercator's Projection, with a scroll reaching from England to New Zealand, bearing the legend, "One in Christ." At the east end of the chapel was a representation of the Centurion at the foot of the Cross. But the most remarkable and historical window is one on the south side, representing David pouring out the water which the three soldiers had fetched from the well of Bethlehem at the risk of their lives (1 Chron. xi. 17—19). This was intended to record a like chivalrous act of a Maori chief in the course of the war near Tauranga on the east coast.

The Maori general in question was named Henare Taratoa. He had been educated by the bishop at St. John's College, from about 1845 to 1853. He was a very clever, thoughtful youth, but excitable, and not altogether to be depended upon, so that the bishop would not lead him on to the ministry for fear he might fall away from the faith. Once when the bishop was telling a party of natives Æsop's fable of the cat that was changed into a princess, and how the princess leapt out of bed when she saw a mouse, he suddenly turned to Henare, and said, "What's the mouse?"

"Te vitenga Maori" (old native customs) was the reply. "What's the princess?" said the bishop. "The Maori heart," said the conscience-touched youth. Henare sided with his countrymen in the war, but held to the Gospel, as was shown by the action which the painted window records. He was commanding the native forces at the fight after the disaster that befell the English at the Gate Pa. The English charged their rifle-pits and drove them out; the Maoris slowly retreated, facing the enemy, and were all bayoneted, showing a courage that won the admiration of the English. When Henare's body was searched, they found on him the "orders of the day" for fighting. They began with a form of prayer, and ended with the words (in Maori), Rom. xii. 20, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." These were not idle words, for on the occasion of the panic that occurred amongst our troops at the Gate Pa a few days before, several English officers, naval and military, had got inside the Maori redoubt, and were left there, severely wounded. One dying of his wounds was tended all night by Henare Taratoa. The dying man asked for water. There was none inside the Maori redoubt, nor nearer than three miles on their side of the Gate Pa; but there was water inside the English lines at the foot of the Gate Pa; and Henare Taratoa crept down amongst the fern within reach of the sentries, and filled a calabash with water, which he successfully carried back to refresh the parched lips of his enemy. The English officers told this story, which in itself is a sufficient answer to the taunt so often thrown at our missionaries, "What's the value of your supposed conversions to Christianity? Where are the fruits of the Gospel you have preached?"

Yes; it was not all darkness and failure: the bright side of the cloud was sometimes turned towards the great bishop, and in the uniform fidelity of the Maori clergy there was present comfort and hope for the future: nevertheless there must have been much of sadness present when he wrote the following touching letter to his unswerving friend, the Rev. Edward Coleridge:—

NEW PLYMOUTH, N.Z., *Dec. 26th*, 1865.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

My date recalls to memory *Plymouth, Dec. 26th*, 1841, and brings you vividly before me, laying the last stone on the beach, praying with us in the cabin of the *Tomatin*, and waving your last farewell to us from the boat. Twenty-four years have passed away, but the remembrance of that day remains as fresh as ever. So also does the "undying love" which then united us together, and which neither time nor distance can impair. But, oh! how other things have changed! how much of the buoyancy of hope has been sobered down by experience! when, instead of a nation of believers welcoming me as their father, I find here and there a few scattered sheep, the remnant of a flock which has forsaken the shepherd. Think of my hanging on to a grapnel off Mr. Völkner's Mission Station, not daring to land, in the very same manner as Coley[1] and I are accustomed to do at some heathen island visited for the first time. At this place I do not know how far it is right to go among my people, though in former times peace or war made no difference in their willingness to receive me. At present we are the special objects of their suspicion and ill-will. The part which I took in the Waikato campaign has destroyed my influence with many. You will ask, then, "Did I not foresee this?" and if so, "Why did I go?" I answer first that, though 10,000 men were sent from England, no military chaplain arrived at head-quarters till the advance had reached its farthest point in Waikato. I could not neglect the wounded and dying soldiers. Then there were many wounded Maoris brought in from time to time, to whom it was my duty to minister. Add to this, that two of our mission stations (those of Mr. Ashwell and Mr. Morgan) had been occupied by a native clergyman and catechist, whom no threats could induce to leave their posts after the English missionaries were advised to retire. It was my duty to see they were not injured when our troops advanced, and this made it necessary for me to be in the front, and thereby to expose myself to the imputation of having led the troops. This has thrown me back in native estimation, more, I fear, than my remaining years of life will enable me to recover. But what are my sorrows compared to those of the Bishop of Waiapu, who had completed his quarter of a century at Poverty Bay, and after constant effort and anxiety has just begun to rest upon a settled system, with a thriving college, seven native clergymen, a Diocesan Synod meeting annually, in which the proceedings were conducted entirely in the native language; his son Leonard, as his archdeacon, most active and efficient; and then all was broken up as in a moment—not a portion of his work, as my Maori duties are, but the whole; and now he has gone back to the Bay of Islands, whence he started, full of hope, a year or two before I left England.

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[1] Rev. J. C. Patteson.

In the midst of these sorrows we have solid comfort in the sight of the stability of our native clergymen, who have never swerved from their duty, and never forgotten or broken the oath of allegiance to the Queen which they took at their ordination. This affords a strong ground for believing that if the Maoris in general had ever consented to become British subjects, they would have kept their promise; but to be forced into the position of British subjects without their consent, and subject to the new infliction of a Government in which they had no share, administered by men with interests and feelings opposite to their own,—this was too much to expect them to submit to. The real cause of war in New Zealand has been the new constitution, and the cause of the greater bitterness of the strife has been the new element of confiscation introduced by the colonists against the will and express orders of the Home Government. The argument in favour of it is this: a Maori cares more for his land than for anything else; therefore the punishment which he will feel most is the confiscation of land. There might be some force in this, if the Maori had committed some real crime, of which he was conscious; but when he believes that the Englishman has only been waiting his time to do what he has now done, and that the land was doomed just as much if the owners were innocent as if they were guilty, then confiscation becomes in their eyes simple spoliation, and has none of the effect of punishment. Certainly nothing could look more like a determination to provoke a quarrel than the Waitara business; where the natives had been allowed to kill one another for two years in civil war, on land questions, raised by our eagerness to buy upon disputed titles; and then the sword which had been never drawn to vindicate the law was drawn to break it, and war made in the name of the Queen upon her own subjects on a question of civil contract on the very spot where murders remained unpunished, and the chief murderer became the ally of the Queen's representative.

The Hau-hau superstition is simply an expression of an utter loss of faith in everything that is English, clergy and all alike. The only wonder is that the whole people did not become Romanists, as the missionaries of that persuasion are chiefly from France. The murder of Mr. Völkner was an exceptional case; the act of one miscreant (Kereopa), not one of his own people, working upon Mr. V.'s own flock, with that mysterious power which has been so often seen in times of public excitement. The wretch went over afterwards to Poverty Bay, and gained the same kind of influence over the disciples of Bishop Williams. That it was not a mere spirit of murder is proved by the fact that Mr. Grace, another missionary, was spared, and that a medical man, Mr. Agassiz, remained at Opotiki for months after the murder. There is no offence, of the sin of which a Maori has a clearer perception than of murder properly so called, and very few murders have been committed by the race during the twenty-six years of the colony—*none* in the previous twenty-five years of the mission. In time of war and public excitement deeds are done of which the exact character can scarcely be defined, for the conscience even of an Englishman on such occasions is no safe or consistent guide.

We have every reason to think that the worst is now past, and as the withdrawal of the troops will abate the appetite of the colonists, we shall probably settle down again upon the unsatisfactory basis of the questionable possession of one or two million acres of very indifferent land, acquired at the cost of 5*l.* per acre and many priceless lives; and of the entire repudiation of the Queen's authority over the whole interior of the Northern Island. This is the result of seeking first "the other things," instead of the "one." It is not many years since the Queen's name was honoured throughout New Zealand, and no more acceptable hope could be held out to the Maoris "than that the two races might grow up to be one people, with one faith, and under one sovereign." All this time they sold their land faster than we could pay for it, at from $\frac{1}{4}d.$ to $10d.$ per acre, wishing nothing more than to have houses built, roads laid out, and Englishmen settled among them. "O earth, earth, earth!" Such has been our cry. The Queen, Law, Religion, have been thrust aside in the one thought of the acquisition of land. Native agents were called, and were, "Native Land-Purchase Commissioners." Thus neglected by us, the natives chose for their own chief magistrate the old friend of Governor Hobson, and the constant supporter of order and peace. He soon died, and we took the earliest opportunity of quarrelling with his son, because he did not, or could not, coerce the island Chief Rewi, who has been the chief, if not the sole cause, of the renewal of the war. All the young King's land has been confiscated, but little or none of Rewi's. And the pleasant dream so full of bright hope has melted away, and the prospect of a few more years, if it be God's will, of plodding labour is all that remains to me, to build up again the tabernacle which is fallen down.

I do not see my way to another visit to England. It is more congenial to my present feelings to sit among my own ruins, not moping, but tracing out the outlines of a new foundation, than to go through another course of public life in England. So much has been said or written of late about my order that I have begun to think that it will be well for us to be more sparing of our visits. We leave to the English clergy their own entire freedom to go every year to the Baths of Lucca or to Switzerland for their long vacation, and to spend their time there in entire idleness. If our enjoying eight or ten months of mixed pleasure and work once in thirteen years is a stumbling-block to them, I will not give them cause of offence. If there has been anything wrong in this respect on the part of my brethren, as a senior member of the body I ought to set a better example. As I referred to this subject in a former letter, you will see that it has entered deeply into my mind.

The proceedings in the matter of the Nelson Bishopric have been strictly regular. The Diocesan Synod delegated their share in the nomination to the Bishop of London. The General Synod in like manner delegated their right of confirmation to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This binds the diocese and the province. We leave the negotiations with the Crown in the hands of the Archbishop, but if he should fail to obtain authority to consecrate the bishop-designate, we should proceed to consecrate him in New Zealand, because after the late decisions of the Privy Council we see no hindrance to this way and no other way open to us. The petition of the Anglican Bishops in New Zealand will, I hope, lead to such an answer as will set the question at rest. We are not aware of the existence of any greater difficulty in our own case than in that of the Scottish Episcopal Church, or of the Episcopal Church in the United States. The State has cast off our tow-line, and we have made sail for ourselves. Don't say that we are rebels: it is the State that has repudiated the Church. I held on to the last strand till the Lord Atropos cut it.

Your very affectionate and grateful Friend,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER V.

NEW ZEALAND AND LICHFIELD.

[1860—1867.]

After the digression of the two preceding chapters, it is necessary to resume the chronological order of the story which was broken at the end of 1859. It was the prelude to a stormy period, of which much has been said in the last chapter. Of the troubles connected with political disturbances no further mention will be made; additional trouble was present in the shipwreck of the *Southern Cross*, happily without loss of life, on the shores of New Zealand, on her return voyage after having left Mr. Patteson and his boys on the island of Mota, which subsequently became one of the first of the islands in the mid-Pacific to receive the Gospel. In all the disturbances, whether present or imminent, which visited the colony, the bishop could discover hopeful tokens of real and substantial progress. The roll of Maori clergy was gradually being enlarged, and everywhere in the Northern Island the village schools, offshoots of the larger missionary schools which were the direct fruit of the college at Auckland, were offering themselves for his inspection and commendation. These were especially gratifying to the bishop, inasmuch as he had persevered, in spite of sympathy withheld and opposition offered, in his determination to establish these boarding schools, to which he had been assured that no Maori would ever come. In one case the seed sown had withered and perished, and yet now far and wide the blade had sprung up and the grain was being harvested.

The year 1860 was also a time of preparation for the great event of 1861, the consecration of the Missionary Bishop for the western islands of the South Pacific Ocean. The relations of the Church towards the civil power were in an indefinite and hazy condition at this period; the State had cut the Church adrift, and yet was unwilling to relax any semblance of the hold which it impotently claimed to have on its freedom of action. It was a great year for true Church autonomy when in New Zealand a bishop was consecrated for Melanesia, in Capetown a bishop was consecrated for Central Africa, and from the Mother Church a bishop was consecrated, under the abnormal and eccentric "Jerusalem Bishopric Act," for the Sandwich Islands. This measure of freedom was not, however, attained without much effort, and Bishop Selwyn, the last man in the world to undervalue constituted authorities, had step by step to contend with difficulties which rested on no legal basis, but which yet rendered his progress slow and difficult.

How careful he was not to seem to infringe either the letter or the spirit of any law, and what pains he took to secure the sanction of all who were even remotely concerned in the matter,—these things are shown in a letter written to the late Professor Selwyn a few days after Mr. Patteson's consecration:—

AUCKLAND, *March 4th,* 1861.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

. . . . On St. Matthias' Day, Sunday, February 24th, three Eton bishops had the great pleasure of consecrating a fourth Eton man to the office of Missionary Bishop among the western islands of the South Pacific. We have not yet heard of the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie; but we hope that it may have been on the same day. The steps which we took were these—

I wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to offer to agree to any of the following plans:—

(*a*) To give up a small piece of the north end of New

Zealand, say from the Bay of Islands northwards, as a See for the Island Bishop.

(*b*) To procure the repeal of that portion of the Act of Parliament which annexes Norfolk Island to the See of Tasmania, and to make Norfolk Island the See of the bishop, as Labuan is for Borneo, Hongkong for China, and St. Helena[1] for South America.

(*c*) To procure a kind of patent for the bishop, analogous to the authority of a British consul, *i.e.* a power over British subjects, being members of the Church of England, though residing in places out of Her Majesty's dominions.

(*d*) To allow the New Zealand bishops to exercise the inherent powers of their office, as the bishops of a distinct province of the Church.

This last the Duke of Newcastle accepted, with many cordial expressions of approbation; and only raised the doubt whether the consecration could take place within British territory.

On this point I took the opinion of four Crown lawyers:

Chief Justices.

Present . . . . . . Arney,
Late . . . . Martin;

Attorney-Generals.

Present . . . . . . Whitaker,
Late . . . . Swainson;

who all gave their opinion that they knew of no statute English or Colonial, which would make it illegal to hold the consecration in New Zealand. Having further appealed to the laity by a *Si quis* published in all the churches in and near Auckland, and having obtained the consent of all the New Zealand suffragans, I no longer felt any scruple, but went on with the work, as I have described in the consecration sermon, "with a conscience void of offence." There will be some, I suppose, who will cavil, but their voices will scarcely be heard in the midst of the general approbation. The new bishop is generally beloved, and a beginning could not have been made in a new and unprecedented work with a person more likely to win for his work that kind of public favour which rests on personal considerations.

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[1] This had been one of the reasons for establishing the See of St. Helena, but the idea was never carried into practice.

On February 16, 1861, the Metropolitan and two suffragans, the Bishops of Wellington and Nelson, publicly and solemnly notified their intention to consecrate Mr. Patteson, and on the Feast of St. Matthias they fulfilled their pledge. The circumstances of that eventful day have found their appropriate record in the biography of him who, consecrated at this time to the work to which he had years before been dedicated by the act of his father and by his own will, terminated his noble career at Nukapu in the Santa Cruz group on the vigil of St. Matthew, 1870. Of Bishop Patteson and his work none but the most incidental mention has been made, and that of set purpose, in these pages. But it seems to be necessary to the completeness of this biography that the sermon preached on this occasion, one of the most striking perhaps ever preached by Bishop Selwyn, should here find an abiding record, and on this account it is here given :—

ACTS I. 24.

And they prayed and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen.

If a reason be asked for the peculiar character of this congregation, it is given in the first words of the text,

THEY PRAYED.

On other occasions the House of God is as free as the air of Heaven. The sojourner, the wayfaring man, the friendless, the rich, the poor, the old, the young, the full Communicant, and the proselyte of the gate, all may enter freely through its open doors, for the Church is the House of Prayer for all people, where every one may come, to cast down his own burden, and to pour out his soul before the Lord.

But this is a season of special prayer, and of that most solemn act of prayer which is offered up in the Holy Communion. And therefore the invitation has gone forth far and wide to all who have partaken of the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to meet the

Bishops and Pastors of our Church at the Lord's Table, and to pray *with* us and *for* us.

We ask for these special prayers in a season of special need, for the solemnity in which we are engaged is one of fearful responsibility. We have not come here in a spirit of boasting, but of fear and trembling. We have not met together to exalt ourselves above our brethren in Christ, because we are Bishops or Presbyters or Communicants of the Church: for the day reminds all Pastors of the Church, of him of whom Christ said: "Have not I chosen you twelve and one of you is a Devil?" and the place reminds us, that it was from that Holy Table that the first Communicants rose up, one to betray his Lord, one to deny Him, *all* to forsake Him.

Was not that a season of fear and trembling, when the eleven Apostles met in that upper room, in which they all abode after the Ascension, and continued with one accord in prayer and supplication? Prayer was their comfort even then, though the Holy Ghost was not yet given. We can well understand why they prayed. The Bridegroom had departed from them. They were a band of mourners. There was Mary the mother of Jesus weeping for her Son. And there was Mary Magdalene weeping for her Saviour: and Peter mourning for his denial of his Lord: and Thomas mourning for his faithlessness: all mourning for the brother who had fallen from his Bishopric and gone to his own place.

A book was unrolled before them, in which were written lamentations and mournings and woe. The dark word of prophecy had been then fulfilled. The Shepherd had been smitten, and the sheep of the flock had been scattered abroad. One habitation was desolate, and no man to dwell therein. Each in his own degree had been offended because of Christ; even that Apostle who said "Though all men shall be offended because of Thee, yet will I never be offended." Judas, Peter, all the Apostles, had stumbled at that stumbling stone: and all this had been foretold by prophecy as foreordained by God: and yet they could not excuse themselves by alleging God's foreknowledge. Their Lord had said, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe be to that man by whom the offence cometh."

And now to this sorrow for the past was to be added fear for the future: for this word also of prophecy was to be fulfilled: "His Bishopric let another take." Another Soldier of the Cross was to step at once into the place in which he had seen his comrade fall. There was no special guidance of the Holy Ghost, as when Paul and Barnabas were separated for the work whereunto God had called them. All the past was full of bitter proofs of their own unfitness for their Master's service. They had not known their own hearts. They had fancied themselves ready to go up to Jerusalem, to die with Him: they promised to go with Him to prison and to death; yet they had denied and forsaken Him. They had not known their own deceitful hearts: how should they know the hearts of other men? One source of comfort and of light had been opened to them by their Divine Master, and to that they resorted. They prayed, and said,

"Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen."

They did not pray alone. The same Blessed Saviour who had borne their griefs and carried their sorrows, who had prayed for them in His Agony, while they were sleeping, would not forsake them in their act of prayer. He knew that Satan had desired to have them that he might sift them as wheat: and He prayed for them, that their strength might not fail.

In the power of that intercession Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples; Peter foremost in the blessing, "Blessed art thou Simon Barjona," and foremost also in the offence, "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me." Had he forgotten his own bitter tears for his threefold denial; or his grief at his Lord's threefold exhortation to him to feed His sheep? Was his bearing that of the primate of the Apostolic brotherhood, proud of his own office, and confident in his own strength? If he had been righteous in his own eyes, he would have brought a railing accusation against his brother. But his words are not of condemnation, but of sorrow. He speaks of Judas not as a traitor, but as the guide of them that took Jesus. He does not deny that Judas was an Apostle, but puts it forward as a sorrowful fact, that he was numbered with them, and had obtained part of their ministry. In fear and sorrow he recognised the fulfilment of prophecy in his brother's fall; in fear and hope he called upon his brethren to fulfil the same Word of God by appointing another to take part of that ministry and Apostleship from which Judas by transgression fell.

I have endeavoured to explain the feelings with which the Apostles must have offered up those fervent prayers at the election of Matthias, as some guide to our own thoughts and feelings on the present occasion.

We too must come to this work in a spirit of prayer, because it is to us a work even of greater fear.

I speak first of the Consecrating Bishops.

We are called upon to execute this office of the Apostles, in an age when the Bridegroom has been taken away, and when all outward gifts and guidances of the Spirit of God have been withdrawn. We are not like those Holy Men, who were with the Lord Jesus "all the time that He went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up." We cannot choose from men who have enjoyed the like privileges as eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. We are inferior to them both in respect to the power to choose, and of the field of choice. Compared with them, we are but "blind leaders of the blind."

And yet the office of the Apostles is laid upon us. They have long gone to their rest: but the commandment still remains in force, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." God neither gave immortality to the Apostles, nor a sudden spirit of conversion to the world. It is seen then to be the will of God, that the fulfilment of prophecy, and of our Blessed Lord's Commandment, should be a gradual work, to be carried on by successive generations of the Christian Ministry.

Through a hundred steps of spiritual lineage that Apostolic Ministry has been brought down to us. At this distance from the source of blessing, we fear lest we be found wanting. We are called upon to exercise the office of Apostles, but without the special gifts and graces of the Apostolic age. What are we that we should have power to carry on the Lord's work in obedience to His commandment?

When we look to the side of prophecy, the thought is no less fearful. The whole volume of Holy Scripture seems to be unrolled before us with its warning of woe. "Woe be to me, if I preach not the Gospel." Is the promise yet fulfilled, that in Abraham and his Seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed? Has Christ already received all the heathen for his inheritance and all the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession? Is there no wilderness which has still to blossom as the rose? No Islands that still wait for the Lord? No kingdoms that must become His? Are all idols utterly abolished? Are there no Gentiles yet to come to His light; no doves to come back to the windows of His ark; no sons to come from far; no daughters to be brought to be nursed at His side? Has His Church been established in the top of the mountains as a city set upon a hill?

The vastness of the scope of the prophetic visions at once humbles and enlarges the mind. "Thy heart shall fear and be enlarged" is God's promise through Isaiah. However little our work may be, it is part of that purpose of God which can never fail. We pray for our little one in fear and humility, and while we pray it becomes a thousand. It is but a drop in the Ocean, but that Ocean is the fulness of God.

But when we thus recognise the work as of God alone, ordained by His determinate counsel and foreknowledge, a new cause of fear arises, and brings with it a new motive to prayer. In this work of God, belonging to all eternity, and to the Holy Catholic Church, are we influenced by any private feelings, or any personal regard? The charge which St. Paul gives to Timothy in words of awful solemnity "to lay hands suddenly on no man" may well cause much searching of heart. "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality." Does our own partial love deceive us in this choice? We were all trained in the same place of education; united in the same circle of friends; in boyhood, in youth, in manhood, we have shared the same sorrows, and joys, and hopes, and fears. I received this my son in the Ministry of Christ Jesus from the hands of a father of whose old age he was the comfort: he sent him forth without a murmur, nay rather with joy and thankfulness, to these distant parts of the earth. He never asked even to see him again; but gave him up without reserve to the Lord's work. Pray, dear brethren, for your Bishops, that our partial love may not deceive us in this choice, for we cannot so strive against natural affection as to be quite impartial.

And yet, as standing in the "presence of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the elect angels," we solemnly declare that we are not laying hands suddenly on this dear friend and brother: so far as we can search our own hearts, and judge of our own motives, we are doing nothing by partiality. In frequent conference and in solemn Communion we have spread the matter before the Lord; and we have received at least this satisfaction, that no one single whisper of the voice of conscience within has warned us to forbear. We have risen from our prayers more and more resolved to go forward in the name of God, and in the full belief that this is indeed His work, and that this is His chosen servant.

Here again was the need of prayer, that we were left to our own unassisted judgment. It is true that I had received Commission, now nearly twenty years ago, from the Primate of the English Church, to regard New Zealand as a fountain to diffuse the streams of salvation over the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific Ocean: and that supplies have been furnished by the Church at home with no sparing hand to enable me to begin the work. But in this special act of the Consecration of a Missionary Bishop the authorities in Church and State at home have advisedly left us to exercise our own inherent powers: with the kindest expressions of sympathy with our undertaking, but with no division of responsibility. And yet we do not stand alone in the work, for at this very time the Sister Church in the Cape Colony, with the active support of a former Governor of New Zealand, is sending out a Missionary Bishop to Central Africa. We too have received the same encouragement from the Officers of the Crown in New Zealand, their attestation of the fitness of the person whom we have chosen, their assurance of the lawfulness of our act. We have called upon the Laity in all our Churches to come forward, if they know of any just cause or impediment. The general consent of Church and State, of the Clergy and Laity, both here and at home, seems to justify our act. I have not heard of one dissentient voice. We humbly trust, that we may go on with this our work, with a conscience void of offence, toward God, and toward men.

Having asked your prayers for us the Consecrating Bishops, I now ask them for him who is to be consecrated; and these are the reasons:—

Because, like all others of his brethren, he will have care of many Churches: the stewardship of the Mysteries of Christ: the guardianship of the purity of His Word: the administration of godly discipline: the oversight of the flock, which the Son of God has purchased with His own blood.

But, especially, because he will go forth to sow beside many waters, to cultivate an unknown field, to range from island to island, himself unknown, and coming in the Name of an unknown God. He will have to land alone and unarmed among heathen tribes, where every man's hand is against his neighbour; and bid them lay down their spears and arrows, and meet him as the messenger of peace. He will have to persuade them by the language of signs to give up their children to his care: and while he teaches them the simplest elements which are taught in our infant schools, to learn from them a new language for every new island. Surely then, dear brethren, we must pray earnestly that this our brother may have a large measure of the Apostolic gifts; a power to acquire divers languages; and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel to all the nations now to be committed to his charge. Already sixty islands have come under his care, and at least one hundred others, stretching westward as far as New Guinea, are among the number of the islands which are waiting for the Lord. I can but indicate the outlines of this great work: your own minds fill up the details, by that lively faith which springs from a hearty acceptance of all the prophecies and of all the promises of the Bible. It may be, that your prayers will be more earnest for objects which you see as through a glass darkly; like those solemn prayers which faithful men offer up in the darkness of the night, to the God who seeth in secret.

One duty yet remains: to commend our dear brother to the work to which we believe God has called him.

It was the privilege of the Apostles to elect Matthias out of the number of those "who had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto the same day that He was taken up." Our privilege though different in degree may be the same in kind; for faith supplies what is denied to sight.

So may every step of thy life, dear brother, be in company with the Lord Jesus.

May the baptism of John be in thee, to fill thee with that godly sorrow which worketh repentance not to be repented of: a foretaste of that comfort which will be given to them that mourn, by the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire.

May Christ be with thee, as a Light to lighten the Gentiles; may He work out in thee His spiritual miracles; may He through thee give sight to the blind, to see the glories of the God invisible: and open the ears of the deaf to hear and receive the preaching of His Word: and loose the tongues of the dumb to sing His praise; and raise to new life the dead in trespasses and sins.

May Christ be with you when you go forth in His Name and for His sake "to those poor and needy people; to those strangers destitute of help;" to those mingled races who still show forth the curse of Babel, and wait for the coming of another Pentecost; poor alike in all worldly and spiritual goods, naked to be clothed, prisoners to be loosed, lepers to be cleansed. To you is committed Christ's own Ministry, to seek for His sheep that are dispersed abroad; to hold up the weak, to heal the sick, to bind up the broken, to bring again the outcasts, to seek the lost. Your office is, in the widest sense, to preach the Gospel to the poor.

May Christ be ever with you; may you feel His presence in the lonely wilderness, on the mountain top, on the troubled sea. May He go before you, with His fan in His hand, to purge His floor. He will not stay His hand till the idols are utterly abolished.

May Christ be ever with thee, to give thee utterance to open thy mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel. Dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips, you will feel Him present with you to touch thy lips with a live coal from His own altar, that many strangers of every race may hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.

May Christ be ever with you: may you sorrow with Him in His agony and be crucified with him in His death, be buried with Him in His grave, rise with Him to newness of life, and ascend with Him in heart to the same place whither He has gone before, and feel that He ever liveth to make intercession for thee, "that thy strength fail not." —*Amen.*

Of the rest of the bishop's residence in New Zealand little remains to be recorded; it has already been dealt with in the two preceding chapters. His time was spent either in the field ministering to each of the hostile camps indiscriminately, whose soldiers were equally his children, or in building up the Church and providing for its administration and government through the action of Provincial and Diocesan Synods. The system of these institutions provided for the apparent anomaly of Bishop Patteson residing for a great part of each year at Kohimarama, close to Auckland, and in the diocese of another bishop, without any collision or friction. Bishop Selwyn used to say that there need be no difficulties about territorial limits of dioceses if only there were Synods to regulate the action of the bishops, and that the advice of Lord Nelson to his captains to remember that they could never do wrong if they brought their ships alongside of the enemy's, might well be followed, *mutatis mutandis,* by the chiefs of the missionary forces arrayed against heathendom.

The course of legislation in England in connection with the South African Church concerned deeply every branch of our Communion, and was watched with much interest by the bishops in New Zealand. On his return from the

General Synod at Christchurch, in 1865, the Metropolitan wrote to a correspondent in England that the threats of one of the dioceses "to secede from our Federal Union," were amicably pacified "just before the Colenso Judgment came to teach us that we have nothing to hope as a Church unless we are united among ourselves. We are quite content to be without patents," the letter went on to say, "but not content to have a spurious coin forced upon us as retaining fee for indefinite suit and service. To give nothing and to claim everything cannot be the basis of a contract between the Crown and a Colonial Bishop. They gave me a salary and then took it away; and Letters Patent which are declared to be null and void; and yet the Privy Council tells me that I am a creature of the Crown, 'a wretched creature who must bend his body if Cæsar carelessly do nod on him.' If it were really Cæsar I should try to be content, but I have no disposition to accept Lord Westbury as the keeper of my conscience, nor would Her Majesty if she had any choice in the matter."

A few weeks later, in August, 1865, he wrote to the same correspondent in England:—"I send a copy of a petition[1] which the Bishops of New Zealand have forwarded through the Governor to the Queen. It is our answer to Lord Westbury, who, I think, will not soon see the end of the questions which he has provoked by the last decision of the Judicial Committee. Happily our Church system had been so guided, under God's blessing, by the counsels of Sir W. Martin and Mr. Swainson that we have nothing to alter. The Privy Council decisions affirm the legality of every step that we have taken, and require nothing to be altered, though much of course remains to be perfected and defined."

In this year (1865) the bishop had good hopes of being able in process of time to provide for the establishment of a bishopric of Dunedin, thereby relieving the Bishop of

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[1] Inserted in Chapter III., p. 135.

Christchurch of that southern portion of the colony which Bishop Selwyn had insisted on including in the diocese of Christchurch as a condition of that See being founded. He wrote in this sense to Archbishop Longley, and added, that when things were in train he would ask his Grace to look out for the right man. By an unfortunate misapprehension the good Archbishop anticipated the promised announcement, and wrote back that he had selected the Rev. H. L. Jenner, whose consecration would shortly take place.

The bishop felt himself thus placed in a position of very great difficulty, and came to the conclusion that the only thing for him to do was to go to the Southern Island and "make a raid on Dunedin itself," and raise what funds he could towards the endowment of the See. The prospect was not encouraging, for trade was depressed and money scarce. On his arrival at Dunedin he found nothing had been done; and at Christchurch he had been met by a series of resolutions throwing cold water on the scheme, "not from any wish to oppose it, but from fear of having to pay." Seeing, therefore, no hope of a speedy accomplishment of the purpose which had brought him away from his own diocese, where his presence could ill be spared, he yet resolved, with very divided feelings, to spend a month in visiting the "Runholders," that it might not be said that the endowment had failed for want of effort on his part.

The ride through the province of Otago gave to the bishop an opportunity of ministering to the diggers who in large numbers had been attracted to the gold-fields. While thus engaged he wrote (March 11, 1866):—

"... The change of climate and country is complete; open hills without a tree and covered with yellow grass; sheep runs without a visible sheep; accommodation-houses every three or four miles; tilted waggons going up and down between Dunedin and the Diggings; horsemen rushing along as if they had not a moment to lose; horses feeding out of mangers made of sacking stretched between the shafts of the waggons, and eating as if they too had not a moment to lose. The traffic seems to go on Sundays and week-days alike, and a Scotchman, whom I invited in vain to church, admitted that all the lessons of the old country were forgotten on this road. . . . Upon the whole, as the thing was to be done, I am not sorry to have had to go over this province. Part of my object is to visit as many diggers as I can, and to hold services wherever I find them disposed to attend. There was a large party of them on board the *Phœbe*, returning from Hokitika, who assured me that it was a mistake to suppose that there were not many among them who cared for better things than digging gold. They have the character of being a manly and independent body of men, for the most part orderly and honest. . . . It is a comfort to think that this is the last work of bishop-making in which it will be necessary for me to engage; and when this is done I may break my wand."

The story of the See of Dunedin is a thorny subject, with which these pages need deal no further than concerns the action of the Metropolitan of New Zealand. If there were any precipitancy in the matter it did not rest with him; the General Synod of 1865 had clearly contemplated the erection of a See of Dunedin with little delay, and had fixed on Dunedin as the meeting-place of the General Synod of 1868, "if there should by that time be a bishop there."

In the General Synod of New Zealand, held in 1868, under the presidency of Bishop Selwyn, that Prelate thus liberated his own soul, when it was proposed "that the appointment of Bishop Jenner to the Bishopric of Dunedin be not confirmed." He said:—

"The facts alleged in the report of the Committee are founded very much on evidence that would not be admitted in a court of law. Three years ago Bishop Jenner signed a declaration, assenting to the provisions of our Church Constitution. He consented to be bound by the regulations passed from time to time, or to be issued by the General Synod. He has also undertaken to resign his appointment, together with all rights and emoluments appertaining thereto, when the General Synod may call upon him to do so, or any one duly appointed to do so. That declaration was received in New Zealand, and entered upon the minutes of the Standing Commission of the General Synod, in June, 1866. There was an interval from that date until the consecration of Dr. Jenner in August, 1866, which gave time to interpose objections if any one had chosen; and, if any valid objections had been made, the Standing Commission would have considered it to be its duty to recommend the Archbishop of Canterbury to stay his hand. The first proceedings began in April, 1867, nine months after the consecration. I look upon this action of the Committee as amounting to an attempt to depose Bishop Jenner. Dr. Jenner was consecrated with as much formality as I was myself consecrated. The Standing Commission is the proper tribunal to which this matter should be properly referred, as it has been specially appointed to deal with such questions, and consists for the most part of legal gentlemen; and if any of the friends of Dr. Jenner thought it necessary, they will have a perfect right to appeal to its decision. The sufficiency or otherwise of the endowment fund seems to be the question on which the present Committee has come to a decision; and if, therefore, at any time the endowment becomes adequate, it may be competent to enter as a plaintiff on behalf of Dr. Jenner."

After a long debate the General Synod requested Bishop Jenner to withdraw his claim to the See of Dunedin.

Twice, on an appeal from the injured person, the English bishops (in 1872 and 1875) have decided that Bishop Jenner was the first Bishop of Dunedin, and that his claim to be so recognised cannot in justice be withheld. Bishop Selwyn was so personally concerned with the transaction that his judgment may be supposed to be biassed by those who did not know him; his opinion and his action are clearly laid down in an official letter which he wrote but a few days before Bishop Jenner resigned the See of Dunedin:—

"I have always looked upon Bishop Jenner as the bishop in whose name and for whose benefit the fund was collected by me. I propose therefore to the donors that I should be allowed to pay to Bishop Jenner, on his resigning his claim to the Bishopric of Dunedin, the interest which has accrued from the opening of the fund to the time of the meeting of the General Synod of 1871. My own contribution of 100*l.*, with interest, will be paid to Bishop Jenner, for whose use it was given."

On his return from the south the bishop prepared for Ordination two more of his Maori children; the uniform fidelity of the native clergy, who in no one instance ever yielded to the temptations which carried away so many of their brethren, was one of the greatest comforts of the bishop's life: the critical attitude of the people now when the war was abating, and a semblance of peace was restored, fully engaged his attention, and he had no mind to leave his diocese and seek rest and change in England: rather he wished to sit amid the ruins of the spiritual temple which he had been allowed to build, and, as he said, to trace out new foundations on which to build once more. But now there came to him a summons which he could not resist: to the entreaties of relations that he would revisit them he had turned a deaf ear, but the summons to attend the Lambeth Conference in September, 1867, had for him the nature of a command which he prepared to obey. The estimation in which that august gathering was held by the Colonial and American Churches was in striking contrast with the contempt and indifference which it received at home. There were many instances in which the bishops were sent by their dioceses without charge to themselves, and after solemn services and prayers for God's blessing on their counsels. At Auckland seventy communicants were crowded into the little chapel at Bishopscourt, flowing over, for lack of space, into the study, which adjoined it: there was a fear only too well grounded lest their well-loved bishop should not be allowed to return to New Zealand. One whose privilege it was to be present on the occasion has written :

> "The bishop read Philippians i., and it seemed to me and to others also almost as if the chapter might have been written expressly for the occasion. I doubt if there was a single dry eye in the chapel; and the bishop's voice at times was scarcely audible, for the sobs which were heard on every hand."

In July, 1867, the bishop's face was again turned England-wards, and the voyage was spent in preparation for the great gathering which had led him across the globe. Writing at sea to his old friend Sir W. Martin, he thus explained his daily occupation :—

> S.S. "RAUHINE," AT SEA, 300 MILES FROM PANAMA,
> *August 5th*, 1867.
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> . . . It would have been so pleasant to have you by my side at Lambeth. For lack of my walking encyclopædia I have read diligently at Bingham, taking copious notes, and have now finished three volumes, besides Rose's sermons, and many pamphlets—such as Gladstone on the supremacy and the Bishop of London's charge. The more I read, the more wonderful it seems that any one should accuse us of going astray from the true principles of Church-government. The system of the African Church is almost exactly the same as that of New Zealand; and our political circumstances are not unlike theirs, as colonial bodies far removed from the centres of civil government. If I should unfortunately have to break a lance with the Bishop of London, I feel myself growing firmer in my saddle every day.

The bishop on his arrival immediately devoted himself to preparation for the great event which had power to attract him across the globe. He wrote to his old correspondent the Rev. C B. Dalton as follows :—

Sept. 2nd, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Thanks for your affectionate greeting. You may like to know our movements. On Monday 16th we intend to go to Richmond to be ready for any preliminary meetings which may be held, to prepare the way for the Conference on the 24th. From our distant point of view we look upon this Conference as the most important opening for good which has ever been offered to our Anglican Church: but I have not yet seen any signs to lead me to believe that it is so considered here. I have invitations to meetings of all kinds, S.P.G. Anniversaries, &c., up to the very day of the meeting, and the clergymen who write to me do not seem to be aware that I came to England for one object, and that I am prepared to devote all my time and attention to that: and that therefore I must be free in mind and time to prepare for it beforehand, and, after the meeting is over, to work up its results. It is quite impossible for fifty or sixty bishops from all parts of the world to meet together with any hope of advantage without a well-arranged plan of operation. Synodical action is so familiar to me that I can neither share the fears of the Bishop of St. David's, nor care for the sneers of the Dean of Westminster.

How he bore himself in that august gathering of his brethren has been recorded with hearty and genuine appreciation by one who shared in the deliberations of the Conference.

From the address of the Bishop of Quebec to his Synod in the spring of 1878, extracts have already enriched these pages: yet another has to be made, and is here given, a valuable but by no means exaggerated picture of him who in three separate quarters of the globe had come under the observation of the writer :—

"In my mind at least, the first thought that arises is of him who in the last Conference at Lambeth was well-nigh the most conspicuous figure, certainly the most attractive spirit; and whose place will know him no more. The ways of God are not as our ways—and we know that He doeth all things well. But to our apprehension it would, without that remembrance, seem a thing to be deplored that he who was the great promoter of the present Conference, and whose commanding mind might have been expected to mould its character, should have been taken away just when the work was about to begin. No sons of the prophets came to tell us that the Lord would take away our master from our head. Let us hope, let us pray, that there may be one to take up the mantle fallen from him—one around whom the Church may gather, saying 'the spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha.'

"I knew the late Bishop of Lichfield under many varied circumstances of his varied life. I saw him, eleven years ago, come from his distant diocese to take, with universal acquiescence in the natural selection—or shall I not rather say the spiritual designation—his true place at the head of the colonial bishops then in England consulting in preparation for the first Lambeth Conference—to take his true place, and to preside in their deliberations, day after day, with a wisdom, grace, and tact peculiarly his own. And I saw him afterwards, when the Conference opened, foremost among the Church's foremost men, a living manifestation of one strengthened by God's grace to endure hardness, fitted and prepared for the work of his ministry by the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.

"The gracious charm of his personality, and the ennobling influence of the man, I was permitted also, here in Canada, to enjoy in my own house. I saw him too, as many of you saw him, and heard his wise and winning words in our Provincial Synod. And again I saw and heard him at New York, when, in the grandest missionary meeting I ever witnessed, he held his magnificent audience under the spell of his burning thoughts. Not that he was eloquent with any of the tricks of rhetoric; he was too sincere, too single-minded for that. Not that he was a great orator: rather he was a great man; great in feeling, great in intellect, great in will—great throughout. And the outflow of such a mind, whilst never lacking clearness or interest, does not always produce the brilliant effects of the practised orator:—not always, but when at its best it goes far beyond them. There comes at such times over the man, and passes to his hearers, a wave of feeling, like the breeze upon an Æolian harp, so exquisite in its delicacy, so deep in its pathos, so genuine and spontaneous, as to fascinate with a fascination to which, in my experience at least, the calculated bursts of artificial eloquence never attain or approach.

"Such was the man when he came among us mature in years, though 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.' But I knew him, too, in his manhood's prime, a combination of grace and strength in body and in mind, such as appeared to my young eyes the perfection of humanity. And now that they are older, those eyes have since fallen on no form that gave them the like assurance of a man."

In the week preceding the Lambeth Conference of 1867 there were constant services held in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, the forerunners of those many "Short services for men of business," with which we are now familiar, and which have revealed a hitherto unsuspected use to which the churches in the heart of the City may be applied. On one of these occasions the Bishop of New Zealand preached to a congregation of unusual dimensions a sermon of equally unusual freshness and importance. There was a freshness in his words, wholly distinct from the originality of the preacher, which gave to them a force that was all their own: he found the mother-Church distracted by divisions about ritual and doctrine, and much exercised at the attempt to coerce the independent Churches of South Africa into servile obedience to the contradictory utterances of an alien tribunal. Such a combination of circumstances gave to him just the occasion which he valued of insisting on unity and on conference as the antidote to controversy and the only security for peace. Preaching from Acts xix. 32—"*Some cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more* *part knew not wherefore they were come together,"*—he sketched in terms that were ruthlessly but not extravagantly sarcastic, the value of popular judgment in all ages, and showed that the bane of Ephesus and Jerusalem was the bane of England in 1867. He showed how in each University honoured names had been held up to scorn; how in Exeter and in St. George's-in-the-East riot had prevailed by reason of religious acrimony; and how in South Africa a house was divided against itself, because one man would not listen to the godly admonition of his brethren, and his followers supported him not because they agreed with his opinions, but because they regarded him to be the champion of the idol of free thought, before which they prostrated themselves.

In the week that immediately followed on the gathering at Lambeth, the Church Congress was held at Wolverhampton, and was made famous by the presence of the Metropolitans of South Africa and New Zealand. Their experiences had been widely diverse, but their counsel to the mother-Church was one and the same. Each called on the Church in all her branches to be true to her inherent Divinity: to trust not at all to external support, which at any time might be capriciously withdrawn, but to organize her own powers of government on the basis of mutual compact. The testimony of these two great bishops, in many respects differently constituted, was identical in regard to the value and the necessity of synodal action working upwards from Local to Provincial Synods: Each bishop claimed for the Colonial Churches perfect liberty and autonomy, as the only security against anarchy. The Bishop of Capetown said:—

> "If you do not want to encourage dissension and create and perpetuate divisions, you must leave the distant Churches of the empire to connect themselves with each other and with the mother-Church, as they will do, by spiritual ties—by rules, laws, constitutions, canons, call

them what you will—enacted in Synods, with this only essential principle of universal obligation for the guidance of all, that the authority of the inferior Synod is, and must ever remain, subordinate to that of the higher. That the Diocesan is, as the canons enjoin, liable to be overruled by the Provincial; the Provincial by the National, or—as hereafter our Synods may include more nations than one—the General; the General by the Œcumenical. Only let this principle be generally recognised, let the union of the Churches of our communion throughout the world be based upon it, and we shall have adopted a system which has already stood the test of ages, which was the recognised system of the Church from primitive times to the great division between the East and West in the eleventh century, which is a better bond of union than a thousand Acts of Parliament, which would, had it been adhered to, have preserved Christendom to this day in unity. The chief hindrance to the Church's sound and complete organization in the colonies, to its future unity, and to the due subordination of its several branches to the central authority of which I have spoken, appears to me to arise out of that clinging to statute law which the daughter-Churches have inherited from the mother-Church. All other religious communities in the colonies manage their affairs perfectly well without troubling the Legislatures of their respective countries, and there seems to be no reason why the Churches of our communion should not do the same. . . . .

"Parliamentary legislation, except so far as it may be needed here in England to set us free from the evils which past legislation has entailed upon us, is wholly unnecessary. Sweep away altogether the torn and tattered shreds of parchment which you say ought never to have been issued—which speak to us of an alliance with the State which, for good or for evil, has for ever passed away; which render us no help, but which cling around us and hinder and embarrass the freedom of our action; empower us to secure our property for the purposes for which it was given; and the whole of our Churches will ally themselves with you according to that due order and subordination which the canons enjoin, and will continue one with you so long as you and they continue in firm adherence to the Faith once delivered to the saints."

The Bishop of New Zealand "drove home" the statements of his brother Metropolitan, and argued, from the proceedings of the present Conference, that the time must come when the mother-Church should have her duly constituted Synods, and her laity taking their full share in their management. Having told in much detail the work of Bishop Patteson, as though he had himself never been concerned in it, he pleaded in powerful words for unity.

Contemplating no other future for himself than an early return to his beloved diocese, he felt that he could without offence, and even with the authority of long experience, dwell on the value of unity as a factor in the success of missions abroad. He said, "I have one word to address to the mother-Church. It is this: The best assistance you can give to us in our missionary work is to be united among yourselves." And then he quoted a fact within his own experience which had furnished well a text when pleading for unity in his own Synod at the Antipodes:—

"I went," he said, "to one of the most remarkable of the New Zealand chieftains, noted for his hospitality to strangers, and when I asked him why he refused to be a Christian, he stretched out three fingers, and, pointing to the centre joint, said, 'I have come to a spot from which I see three roads branching. This is the Church of England, this the Church of Rome, and this the Wesleyans. I am sitting down here doubting which to take.' And he sat there doubting at those cross-roads until he died in a wonderful manner. His village was built on a cliff in which there were hot springs, and in which vast quantities of liquid mud were accumulated. One night there was a landslip, the village was overwhelmed, and that chieftain died in unbelief simply because of the divisions of Christian men. I therefore ask you of the dear Church in England to give us this best of all assistance, and be united among yourselves. I may say, lastly, that I came to England mainly in the hope that this great Conference of Bishops, followed by this great Congress of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, may demonstrate practically and visibly the unity of our Anglican Church. I can assure all of you that our hearts are burning with an intense devotion and eager love to our mother-country and mother-Church. (Turning to Lord Harrowby, the Bishop continued): A friend says, 'You have cut the painter.' No, we have not cut the painter; it has parted of itself, and we are occupied now in forging a better cable—like that invisible and immaterial bond by which the planets are anchored to the sun; we are declaring one and all that we have not any wish to change or alter the Articles and formularies of our mother-Church. I have learned in that great Pacific Ocean, on which my islands lie like little gems, to pray for the grace of God to enable us to distil from the great ocean of the Catholic Church this essential salt of unity, and with that salt to season all our sacrifices, whether prayer, praise, or almsgiving, and whether at home or abroad, may that sacrifice be acceptable to God through the One Perfect All-sufficient Sacrifice offered once for all."

The Wolverhampton Congress was the last appearance in public of good Bishop Lonsdale; and when his See became vacant, men of all classes and opinions pointed to the Bishop of New Zealand as his worthiest successor. How he ultimately was moved to give up the work to which for twenty-six years he had devoted all his thoughts, must be told in his own words.

He foresaw that in accordance with his own principles of obedience he would have to yield, but when he had conquered his own feelings, and was prepared to make the sacrifice, he thought of his friends in New Zealand. To Sir W. Martin, before any decision had been arrived at, he wrote, in order to catch the mail which left England on December 2nd the following letter:—

37, Eaton Square, *Nov* 29*th*, 1867.

My very dear Friend,

I am in a great strait. On the 12th instant, I received a letter from the Earl of Derby, offering me the Bishopric of Lichfield. Without taking advice, but after prayer for guidance, I declined the offer by return of post, and supposed that the matter would end there (See letters 1 and 2).

This morning, to my great sorrow, I received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Letter No. 3) which greatly disturbed my mind. I have always held the opinion that there must be in the Church an authority to send. By the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury I was sent to New Zealand; and I promised obedience to him in all things lawful and honest. My own desire to return to New Zealand is so strong, that I cannot altogether trust my own judgment on a question of conscience. If I were to go upon my own will, I could decide in a moment. On Sunday, I am to go to Windsor, and the Dean of Windsor (Wellesley) leads me to think that the Queen may speak to me on this subject. If this should be so, the principle of obedience will again come into operation. Much pressure is put upon me from other quarters, but I do not attach much importance to that. You will see how my mind is distracted, by my letter to the Archbishop (Letter No. 4). The time at which the Panama Mail leaves will, I fear, oblige me to leave you in suspense; as my letter must be posted before the point can be settled. Aue! aue! aue!

How I wish that I could take counsel with you. I have no one here, except Sarah, who can even feel the force of the argument from the New Zealand side. All they allege are arguments drawn from the English side. The point of obedience is the only one upon which I see any light. I have told the Archbishop, as you will see (in 4), that in any case I must go back to New Zealand. Friends here tell me that there will be no difficulty about making up the Endowment Fund for the Bishopric of New Zealand. You may be sure that I shall not rest until everything is made as sure as I can for my dear old land, if I am obliged to leave it.

Pray show this to Archdeacon Lloyd and any others whom you wish. We hear with joy that Mary is better. Love to her.

I remain, in sorrow, your affectionate friend,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

1.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *Nov. 9th*, 1867.

MY LORD BISHOP,

Though I have not the honour of your personal acquaintance, yet no one can be ignorant of the invaluable services which you have for many years rendered to the Church and to religion in your distant diocese, and it has occurred to me as possible that you might not be unwilling to exchange your present sphere of duty for one less laborious, but not less important; and I should therefore be glad to be informed, whether in the event of my being in a position to offer you the succession of the late Bishop of Lichfield, you would be disposed to entertain the proposal.

Before making any actual offer, I should desire to have the honour of a personal and confidential communication with you on one or two points which I consider of importance. I am unable at present to name a day for seeing you, as I am confined to my bed by an attack of gout; but should you look favourably upon my suggestion, I should be glad to see you without any unnecessary delay.

I have the honour, &c. &c.,
DERBY.

2.

BATH, *Nov. 12th*, 1867.

MY LORD,

As your lordship's very kind letter was marked "confidential" I have taken counsel with no one but with God, in prayer; and I have been led to the conclusion that it is my duty to return to New Zealand.

1. Because the native race to whose service I was first called requires all the efforts of the few friends that remain to them.

2. Because the organization of the Church in New Zealand is still incomplete.

3. Because I have still, so far as I can judge, health and strength for the peculiar duties which habit has made familiar to me.

4. Because my bishopric is not endowed with more than 80*l.* per annum; and I have no reason to expect that the Church Missionary Society will continue their annual grant of 400*l.* to my successor.

5. Because I have personal friends, such as Bishop Abraham, Bishop Patteson, Sir W. Martin, and others, to whom I am so deeply indebted for freewill assistance, that I feel bound to work with them as long as I can.

6. Because a report was spread in New Zealand that I did not intend to return, to which I answered that nothing but illness or death would prevent me.

I state these reasons because I do not wish to seem unmindful of your lordship's kindness. There is no one whom I should be so glad to succeed as Bishop Lonsdale, who by his genial kindness has laid a foundation among the clergy and laity in his diocese upon which it would be easy to build. I could work with all my heart in the "black country," if it were not that my heart is in New Zealand and Melanesia.

I have the honour, &c.,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

3.

ADDINGTON PARK, *Nov.* 28*th*, 1867.

DEAR BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND,

I have received two communications from the diocese of Lichfield this morning, from persons of high consideration, representing the feeling both of clergy and laity, and I gather from them both that there is a most earnest and ardent desire throughout the length and breadth of the diocese that you would reconsider your last decision, and consent to be their bishop. I *know* that at this moment no appointment has been made, and I have every reason to believe, that if you could be persuaded to allow Lord Derby to offer you the See, with the understanding that you would accept it, it would be yours.

Now I earnestly hope that you may be led to consider this as a high call of duty, and that previous objections may be overcome. Of this I am deeply convinced, that you will be rendering the most valuable and highly important service to the Church of England in consenting to your translation. No advantage that can accrue to the Church in New Zealand by your remaining there will be comparable to the benefit you will thus confer on the Church at home. I do trust that your love for our common mother will move you to yield to these anxious wishes which now centre in yourself; and, if I might add an expression of personal feeling, I cannot assure you too decidedly of the deep gratification it would afford me to see you in the See of Lichfield, of the comfort and support which I should find in these anxious times in having you as one of my suffragans. I will add no more, than that it will be my fervent prayer this night, that it may please God to guide you to the wished-for decision, which I believe would so eminently conduce to the welfare of the Church of England.

C. T. CANTUAR.

4.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

I have been deeply touched by your most kind letter, and have prayed earnestly that I may be enabled "to perceive and know what things I ought to do." Twenty-six years ago your Grace's predecessor sent me to New Zealand. I had no other reason for going than because I was sent. Upon this question of obedience I am still of the same mind. I am a man under authority. As a matter of promotion conferred by the civil power, I had no hesitation in refusing the Bishopric of Lichfield. My love for New Zealand made me hope that the offer would not be renewed. But I do not wish to give undue weight even to that feeling, because the strength of my attachment may mislead me. I am commanded to preach at Windsor on Sunday (Dec. 1), and the Dean's letter leads me to think that the Queen may speak to me on the subject. As a soldier of the Church I shall probably feel bound to do whatever my commander-in-chief bids me.

One thing is absolutely necessary. I must at all events go back to New Zealand, if only for a few weeks. Everything there was left at short notice, when I came away to attend the Conference. To save expense, I have avoided all officials, and therefore all the accounts and trusts with which I am connected would have to be rearranged and transferred. If it should be determined that I am to leave my own dear New Zealand, I could, I dare say, get the Bishop of Wellington to come over to confirm and ordain in the Lichfield diocese during my absence. &c., &c.

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

The story was again told to Sir W. Martin a month later.

PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Dec.* 20*th*, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I wonder whether my last letter was in time for the Panama Mail. If not, this will be the first announcement to you of the completion of the Lichfield matter. On the 1st December I was sent for to preach in the private chapel, Windsor, and to dine at the Castle at six. The Queen sent for me into "The Closet," and expressed her wish that I should take the Bishopric of Lichfield, saying many kind things in a very gracious manner. I had previously determined that if the Queen confirmed the authority of the Archbishop, of whose letter I sent you a copy, it would be my duty to give way: and so I did, with as good a grace as I could: though I felt very sorrowful: and still feel so, when I think of you and our native clergymen, and our friends in Auckland, and Charles, and Coley. The Queen said that she knew that I was very sorry to leave New Zealand, and that she would write to Lord Derby to say that I accepted the bishopric on the condition that I should be free to return to New Zealand to take leave of my friends, after I had taken possession of Lichfield. The same evening I dined with Her Majesty and Princess Louise, a small party of eight, and very pleasant. After dinner in private the Queen talked very nicely and naturally of Prince Albert, and I felt myself speaking pastorally to her; as to a friend needing comfort. She had before given me her book with her autograph, but not without taking counsel with the Dean of Windsor, whether it would be right to give it to me, considering that Prince Albert said in a certain letter to Baron Stockmar, that my father was deficient in method.

And so by this marvellous course of events, after the bishopric had been refused three times—1st, by me; 2nd, by Dr. Cookson; 3rd, by Mr. Lightfoot—I am now writing to you in the old palace, built by Bishop Wood in 1687, and now inhabited for the first time by a Bishop of Lichfield, in a year designated by the same figures transposed. It seems as if the house had been under a ban; for Bishop Wood never resided in the diocese, and was therefore suspended by Archbishop Sancroft, who further fined him the cost of this house for damage done to estates of the See through his neglect. To our colonial eyes it is palatial; and public opinion unanimously supports us in declining to live at Eccleshall Castle, twenty-five miles from Lichfield. The country-house heresy is losing ground.

On Friday last, Sarah and I came here, and were received most kindly by Canon Lonsdale, son of the bishop. The Dean is very friendly, and Archdeacon Moore, the canon in residence. So the prospects of a united Cathedral body are good, and justify the hopes which I formed thirty years ago as a juvenile writer on Cathedral Reform. There is also a theological college with thirty students. The diocese includes all Staffordshire, all Derbyshire, and half Shropshire, three archdeaconries, forty-eight rural deaneries, 661 parishes, and 1,200,000 souls. There is a work to begin upon at my time of life, but I did not seek it: and I trust only in Him whose strength is made perfect in weakness.

I have already begun to act as *πρόξενος* of the colonial and missionary churches by receiving here the Bishop of the Orange River Free State, and in this respect at least I hope that I may be of use, as the friend and advocate of the work which I have been forced against my will to desert.

I shall go to work immediately to raise an endowment fund for the bishopric. If Archdeacon Lloyd, or Archdeacon Govett, or Archdeacon Leonard Williams should be elected, I will guarantee 600*l*. a year as long as I live: and a lady has promised to leave 5,000*l*. by will. Most of the furniture in the "palace" will be left as an heirloom to the See, with the library: excepting some few private books which have become mingled with the others. Hayter may have the carts and horses as a reward for faithful service, unless you have any use in hand for them on the Cathedral Estate. He may also have the use of the cows subject to the duty of supplying you with as much milk as you want.

We hope to leave England as originally proposed in June or July; and therefore there will be time for the report of the Diocesan Synod nomination to reach me.

Aue! aue! aue!
Your very affectionate
And sorrowful Friend,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

At the risk of apparent repetition the following letter to the Rev. W. Selwyn is also given.

MY VERY DEAR WILLIAM,

To my great sorrow, but to your joy, Lichfield has come round to me again. How could I suppose that the Queen and the Archbishop would take the trouble to lay their commands upon me? It was easy to refuse it as a matter of patronage and promotion; but a call from the rulers of the Church is not lightly to be disregarded. And so I have succumbed; and in the Queen's private room this evening it was settled so to be. And now, my dear son, pray for me more earnestly even than before. It is a great change of plan; but I trust that it is the will of God.

Your very affectionate Father,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

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[1] The appointment was in all respects a "popular" one. Churchmen of all but the most narrow type welcomed the Bishop of New Zealand to England, and others who cared little for the accession of spiritual force thus secured to the mother-Church, joined in the general admiration which his romantic career in New Zealand had excited. To this feeling we are probably indebted for the following lines:—

THE RIGHT BISHOP IN THE RIGHT PLACE; OR, SELWYN AMONG THE BLACKS.

A salvo for Selwyn, the pious and plucky,
  The manly and muscular, tender and true,
Let "Lichfield and Coventry" own itself lucky,
  If loss of her shepherd New Zealand must rue.
On the bench of Colonial Bishops, or boat, he
  The labouring oar has still pulled like a man.
In his "stroke" for all mitres on sees now afloat, he
  Is a model to match, or surpass, if they can.

It was not his habit to make much of acts of self-abnegation, and henceforward the bishop was wont to speak almost apologetically of his translation to Lichfield as though he were only as other men to whom an English Bishopric would have been a welcome change after a life of hardship and not unfrequent peril in New Zealand and Melanesia.

He has toiled, he has tussled, with nature and savage,
  When which was the wilder 'twas hard to decide,
Spite of Maori's musket, and hurricane's ravage,
  The tight *Southern Cross* has still braved time and tide.
Where lawn-sleeves and silk apron had turned with a shiver,
  From the current that roared 'twixt his business and him,
If no boat could be come at, he breasted the river,
  And woe to his chaplain who craned at a swim!

What to him were the cannibal tastes that still lingered
  In the outlying nooks of his Maori fold,
Where his flock oft have mused, as their Bibles they fingered,
  "How good would our warm-hearted Bishop be cold!"
What to him were short commons, wet jacket, hard-lying,
  The savages' blood-feud, the elements' strife,
Whose guard was the Cross, at his peak proudly flying,
  Whose fare was the bread and the water of life?

Long, long, the warm Maori hearts that so loved him
  May watch and may wait for his coming again,
He has sowed the good seed there, his Master has moved him
  To his work among savages this side the main.
In "the Black Country," darker than ever New Zealand,
  'Mid worse ills than heathenism's worst can combine,
He must strive with the savages reared in our free land,
  To toil, drink, and die, round the forge and the mine!

Say if We'nsbury roughs, Tipton cads, Bilston bullies,
  Waikato can match, Taranaki excel?
Find in New Zealand's clearings, or wild ferny gullies,
  Tales like those Dudley pit-heaps and nail-works could tell.
A labour more brutal, a leisure more bestial,
  Minds raised by less knowledge of God or of man,
More in manners that's savage and less that's celestial,
  Can New Zealand show than the Black Country can?

A fair field, my Lord Bishop—fair field and no favour—
  For your battle with savagery, suff'ring and sin.
To Mammon, their God, see where rises the savour
  Of the holocausts offered his blessing to win.
Your well-practised courage, your hold o'er the heathen,
  From, not *to*, New Zealand for work ought to roam;
If *it* be dark, what must the Black Country be then,
  What's the savage o'er sea to the savage at home?

PUNCH, *December 14th*, 1867.

Thus he said humorously at a missionary meeting held at Oxford—

> "It may be objected that I am no fit advocate of missionary work, seeing that I have forsaken it. All I can say is, I have had nothing to do with the change, except to obey. Twenty-seven years ago I was told to go to New Zealand, and I went; I am now told to go to Lichfield, and I go.'

But none save his immediate friends knew how great was the pang which this obedience cost him. On the evening of the day of his enthronement at Lichfield, surrounded in his library by brothers and sisters, sons and grandchildren, and nephews and nieces, he said, with that ready gift of quoting aptly which never forsook him—

"O Socii! neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,
O passi graviora! dabit Deus his quoque finem.

. . . . . .

Per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in *Lichfield*, sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt."

He threw into the words a spirit and a meaning which the heathen author knew nothing of; but *sedes quietas* he never found while life lasted and called him to work. It may truly be said, that the trial of leaving family and country in 1841 was less severe than the pain which it cost him to leave his adopted country for which he had done so much; but throughout the whole of his career no thought of self ever found a resting-place in his mind, and henceforward after a brief visit paid to New Zealand, his whole heart was given to Lichfield and the mother-Church, and for the sake of that mother-Church he laboured unceasingly to link all her daughter-Churches to the Parent by the immaterial but enduring bonds of Spiritual union. One only consideration had made him pause before yielding that implicit obedience to civil and spiritual authorities that he conceived to be their due: it was, as has already been mentioned in his letters to Sir W. Martin, that in leaving New Zealand he was leaving a See almost without endowment. A near relative, who was anxious that he should remain in England, offered to provide by will for ever for the maintenance of the future Bishops of Auckland, and he gratefully accepted it, in these words:—

> "Your kind offer has been a great relief to my mind, because I have no difficulty in making up the income of the bishop as long as I live; but the difficulty was to make provision for the future."

And so the great Primate of New Zealand became a Suffragan of Canterbury; and if any persons yet remain who repeat the words of regret in which many once indulged on insufficient information, that he should have been moved from the Church which he had founded to a position which others could equally well have filled: if any are still found to utter the platitude that a man who is *facile princeps* in one position does not rise above mediocrity when moved to another: if it be still held by some persons that a man who could rough-hew the institutions of a nascent Church and a future Empire, and stamp on both the impress of an original mind, was not likely to do more than keep at its existing level of usefulness a position venerable with the traditions of centuries, then it can only be asserted on the testimony of those who had the best opportunities of judging, that in each year of his Lichfield Episcopate the sense of ministerial obligations and the strength of religious life among the laity have risen with a regularity which can only be compared to the rising of a tide which has known no ebb.

To Lichfield and works connected with it the rest of these pages will be devoted.

CHAPTER VI.

LICHFIELD AND NEW ZEALAND.

[1868—1870,]

On January 9, 1868, the bishop was enthroned at Lichfield. Not a day had been lost in providing promptly for the efficient administration of his new diocese. For more than a year he was the occupant of two Sees, 15,000 miles apart, and he humorously claimed for the anomalous arrangement the precedent of Lichfield having been at one time yoked with Coventry, and contended that the marriage with New Zealand was a gratifying and suggestive proof of the extension of the Anglican Church.

No man knew better than he did both the privilege and the difficulty of succeeding to Bishop Lonsdale. Never was bishop more fatherly in all his actions than was that scholarly and humble-minded Prelate, whose last public utterance, at the Church Congress held at Wolverhampton a few days before his decease, was—in strict consistency with his life and practice — an earnest exhortation to brotherly love. "The school of Faith," he said, "is a high school, but the school of Love is higher. Many here have no need to be learners in this world, but we have all of us need to be continually learning in the other." It was well that his successor was also a man of tenderest mould and unfailing sympathy.

One alteration Bishop Selwyn determined from the first to make, though it cost him the pain of breaking the traditions of more than a thousand years. This has been mentioned in his letter to Sir W. Martin announcing his intention to abandon Eccleshall Castle, and to reside in the Palace.

To this house he added two wings, one of which contained a lofty hall, which was the trysting-place of all diocesan workers of whatever grade or kind, and was constantly in request for public meetings and for the exercise of hospitality on a scale truly Episcopal. The western wing contained a large business room or office, where his Secretary sat day by day, and some cubicles, almost like cabins, in which candidates for orders and clergymen who came on business were temporarily lodged. At the N.W. angle he added the Chapel, full of fragrant memories of New Zealand, the Pastoral Staff given to him in 1841 being in its place in his stall, and the windows on either side recalling past scenes or memories of his Antipodean Episcopate. The Chapel was in easy communication with the Library, a spacious room in which to work, and in which signs of work were abundantly visible: and not only of work, but of method, without which the work would never have been accomplished.

Who that has ever seen it could forget those rows of lockers all round the room, eloquent of the sea-going habits of the designer, and their orderly contents, hundreds and probably thousands of large envelopes, each neatly labelled with the names of the Parish, the School, the Hospital, or the public question with which its contents dealt, and of these too a brief precis was written on the outside. When people wondered how the bishop remembered everything about the parish or the question with which they were themselves concerned, they did not know how carefully and methodically everything relating to it was preserved, and how rapidly he could make himself master of the whole business.

The way in which the bishop threw himself into his work justified the remark of the Archbishop of Canterbury after his decease, that "an electric force attended his presence wherever he went." It was impossible to continue the work on the scale and in the spirit with which it was commenced, and this was all too soon made manifest: but everywhere it made a great impression; and a Staffordshire paper at this time contained an account of *Five Days Work in the Potteries,* more remarkable for its appreciation of the bishop than for its own literary merits. As a contribution of contemporary testimony, however, it finds a place here:—

"On Saturday, Bishop Selwyn began his five days' work amongst us by preaching a stirring sermon in Stoke church on the resurrection of the body, and then consecrating the new piece of land appended to the churchyard; this was over at a quarter-past one. At half-past two he consecrated similarly at Fenton. At half-past four he preached and consecrated at Stoke Workhouse, where a touching procession of the inmates followed him round their new 'last resting-place.' Three sermons and three consecrations is pretty good work for one day. On Sunday, work began with a sermon in Skelton church, where many of the local magnates were assembled, and jointly contributed, we are informed, barely 22*l.* to the Infirmary. In the afternoon, a characteristic sermon on 'Peter stood by the fire and warmed himself" followed at Edensor, for the warming apparatus, a novelty unknown in the churches of New Zealand. In the evening, the bald, staring architecture of the large church at Stoke was made expressive, if not actually beautiful, by a dense mass of between 1,500 and 2,000 worshippers, whom the bishop addressed on behalf of the Infirmary building, and where 50*l.* was received for that object. Three sermons form the work of the second day. On Monday a hearty address of half an hour, without book or note, delivered from the altar-steps at Stoke on the work of the ministry, together with the administration of Holy Communion, was a two hours' introduction to the laborious work of attention and patience required for presiding at a meeting of clergymen and laymen to discuss the question of the division of populous dioceses, and the creation of Diocesan Synods. Monday's labours were crowned by a telling sermon at Sneyd Church, on 'My soul is even as a weaned child,' where Christ, weaned from the glories of His Father's heavenly house, and weaned from the comforts and the desires of earth, forms the model for men to imitate in their weanedness from sin and self, which model finds its nearest earthly exemplification in those little children which such schools as those at Sneyd are intended to rear for God. A collection of 28*l.* followed this appeal. Thus ended the third day. On Tuesday the bells of Newcastle told by their firing that something unusual was occurring, and a stately procession of mayor and corporation, maces and gowns, which welcomed at the Town Hall and conducted the bishop in municipal state to the Old Church, betokened to the ancient and loyal burghers what that unusual interest was. Here the bishop again preached, and proved incisively to the conscience that the law of love, which Christianity proclaims, transcends in its binding force any precepts written down only in *words* in the Holy Book, and, as at Sneyd the night before, insisted on his people's preparing for the reception of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on Easter Day. Then he administered the sacrament to some 200 communicants. A lunch (speedily concluded) followed at the Castle; and by three o'clock he was, with exemplary patience, studious attention and pleasant repartee, busied in hearing and removing any objections that were raised to giving the living Church a living and speaking voice as to her wants and intentions through the mouthpiece of her Diocesan Synods. This over by 5.30, there followed at seven, in the Town Hall, a missionary meeting, attended by all classes, in which his simple, manly tale, of how he owned the natives of Australasia for brother men of one blood with us, and how, for the love of Christ, he worked among them for six-and-twenty years, won from the humbler class of burghers, standing in crowds at the lower end of their hall, such expressions of assent as 'That's a a good 'un!' Thus ended the fourth day. On Wednesday the colliery village of Talke, of sad name, witnessed a thrilling scene. A little iron church erected by the benevolence of resident ladies, was that day opened for worship. Holding only a little over a hundred, broad cloth and silk dresses soon appropriated the chief seats, if not the whole edifice; and while the hymn before the sermon was in singing, the bishop was seen to leave the tiny chancel, and force his way through the crowded gangway towards the door. People's hearts began to beat; the last four days' work is telling on him; he is going out from the crowded building for a little air. Nothing of the sort. The good missionary took his stand at the western porch, and turned to the 200 colliers standing in the yard, whom the building's scanty proportions would not contain, and addressed them in the simplest and most touching tones and words, reminding them that like their own soil, their life in this world is undermined by sin and death, and that there is none other name under heaven given among men by whom we must be saved, but only the name of Jesus Christ. The bishop's head was uncovered; the rough men and lads kept their hats on; but their faces were all turned towards him and their eyes fixed upon him; and (as he expressed the fervent hope and prayer) perhaps the ear might carry to the heart of many of them the Word of Life! On the afternoon of the fifth day the bishop left for Ilam, where on Thursday he preached twice, administered Holy Communion, and met the clergy and laity of Alstonfield deanery in consultation on the subject of Synods. Let us hope that the bright visit with which he has greeted this neighbourhood for these five days may leave behind it a trail of light in the hearts of many men, now that he has disappeared for a while from our immediate horizon."

His first care was to establish in his new diocese that consultative machinery which he had learned to value so highly in his old. For this the way had been partially prepared: in 1866 Bishop Lonsdale's attention had been called to the matter of Diocesan Synods, which was at that time being discussed in the newspapers: fifteen years before Bishop Phillpotts, in spite of obloquy, had held a Synod at Exeter to re-affirm the Prayer-Book doctrine of regeneration, and the diocese of Ely had quite recently been feeling its way towards synodical meetings. He was not favourably disposed to making the attempt, but with the fairness which characterised him he invited the rural deans of Staffordshire assembled at Eccleshall to discuss it. The opinion was almost unanimous in favour of some form of synodal action; the rural deans of the archdeaconries of Salop and Derby met successively at Eccleshall, and were asked to bring the whole subject before the clergy of their several deaneries. The result was that Bishop Lonsdale determined to hold a Synod of his diocese, to which he invited the clergy, the churchwardens, and two laymen from each parish, one nominated by the incumbent, the other by the people.

This Synod was never held, but the fact of its having been determined on encouraged his successor at once to carry out the plans that had been adopted but not executed. In six months time he would leave for his farewell visit to New Zealand, and before doing so he determined that, if labour on his part could effect it, the machinery of such organization should be in full working order. He attended meetings in forty-four Rural Deaneries and in each Archdeaconry, in which he had to repeat the patient waiting which had been a condition of his ultimate success in New Zealand: the same suspicions and party watchwords assailed him now: dark designs of making the Episcopate autocratic were imputed to him, and his protestations that he was actually laying aside much power and was holding his hands to be fettered, had with many persons no weight. It has taken some years, and will probably require a good many more, to educate stolid and suspicious Englishmen in the truth that synodal action has for its object the subordination of the caprice of individual wills, whether of the episcopate, the priesthood, or the laity, to the matured and deliberate judgment of the majority of each order, and that autocracy is thus made unattainable to all alike. "What are the uses of Synods?" was a question frequently asked, as though with the conviction that it was unanswerable: but the bishop meekly replied, "Everything that for want of Synods has been left undone. Half of our population to be won back to the Church of their fathers: fifty colonial dioceses looking to us for help; two-thirds of the whole human race still waiting for Christ: to carry out to the full the work of Christian education: to subdivide our enormous parishes: to build churches, and schools, and parsonages: to call forth the energies of our faithful laity: to choose out the fittest men—even from the humblest ranks—to serve God in the sacred ministry of His Church. It is true that much has been done, and I thank God for it. But I say, let us think nothing done till nought remains. It is the fault of all voluntary societies to sound the trumpet to tell the world how much they have done. It is the characteristic of the work of the Church to be ever conscious of its own defects. It is like Cowper's distinction between knowledge and wisdom. Societies are proud that they have done so much; the Church is humble that it has done no more. The limitation of each society to its own specific work is very different from the comprehensive charity of the Church, which watches over the whole community. The partial view with which each subscriber devotes himself to some object in which he is peculiarly interested falls far short of that far-seeing wisdom with which the Church, as in days of old, ought to make distribution to every man according as he has need. Societies come too late into the field to remedy evils that have become full-grown. The wisdom of the Church is seen in prevention rather than in cure, and in providing remedies before the disease has come to its height.

"We form our present system, then, in no antagonism to existing societies, but under the conviction that the action of the whole mind of the Church is needed to conduct, under Divine guidance, the whole work which God has given us to do. We desire to have representatives coming to us from the most populous and the most remote parts of the diocese—rich men to set us an example of giving, and poor men to tell us of the wants and feelings of the poor; and working men to tell us how the work of Christ may best be carried on in mines and factories; and patrons of livings, clerical and lay, to join in seeking out the most deserving curates, and in putting the right man in the right place. We want members of both houses of Parliament to keep us to rules of order, and to assist us in carrying up our petitions; and members of Convocation to learn the mind of the clergy and laity, that they may propose such reasonable alterations of the laws affecting the Church —(such as dilapidations, church building, and the like)— as Parliament will not hesitate to accept and enact. And we desire also the presence of our Cathedral clergy to unite with us in bringing out the dormant powers of that central heart to which I have felt myself drawn as if by some instinctive conviction that the life's blood can be made to flow from thence into the extremities of the diocese. That daily intercession has not been offered up in vain. The part will become more powerful than the whole. Our Cathedral, stripped of half its revenues, will derive new power and spirit from the pruning-knife of the Ecclesiastical Commission. And above all, we desire that subordination of the individual will to the spirit of counsel which cannot be produced by gathering together men of like minds, for then self-will is strengthened and made more self-confident by the blind assent which is given to narrow prejudices and plausible fallacies. We must have men of all professions and of all classes, and of all shades of opinion, that every want may be fully known, and every opinion fairly weighed, and that the decision may be "that which pleases the whole multitude.'"

Here truly was an ample programme, based on a system the most comprehensive and unconventional that could be devised. The opposition continued, accompanied sometimes by warmth of language which it is not necessary to record in these pages: when the principle triumphed, the objection was then taken to the title of the proposed meetings: the people who detected popery and ecclesiastical tyranny in the word of Greek origin, saw nothing to complain or be afraid of in the Latin derivative: Synod was dangerous and Conference harmless. The bishop was amused at this distinction, and at the close of the Stafford Archidiaconal Conference said, "We are now approaching the great question of the day, whether our meetings are to be Synods or not. My own opinion I can state very briefly: it is that I shall be perfectly willing to assist at such meetings, let them be called what they may. On personal grounds I feel with the poet Moore:

> "The choice what heart can doubt
> Of tents with love or thrones without."

I would rather be in a conference with Lord Harrowby[1] than in a Synod without him." On June 17 the Diocesan Conference was held in the city of Lichfield, and was attended by the representatives, clerical and lay, of every rural deanery in the diocese. After Holy Communion had been celebrated in the Cathedral, the meeting for business was held in the Guildhall; the clergy in academicals sat on the left-hand of the bishop, the laity on his right, and between the two the members of the standing committee, lay and clerical. It was a difficult but at the same time a triumphant hour for the bishop. A bare six months ago and he had thought of nothing less than the Chair of S. Chad, and now he was presiding over a Synod, the first of the kind to be held in England, although other dioceses had been feeling their way towards such a consummation for some years. It was worthy of himself, while thanking God for the result of six months' deliberations, in which "differences of opinion had only served to prove that it is possible to differ widely in opinion and yet continue friends," to speak of the "good and hopeful work on which the colophon was that day put," as but the continuation of the work commenced by his predecessor. He could point to the results of the meetings which had been held as largely in favour of synodal action, and in every instance the discussions had been conducted with perfect good feeling and courtesy on both sides.

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[1] Who had strongly opposed the use of the word Synod.

Each of the three counties, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Shropshire, which were connected with the diocese, had presented counter-memorials, and some anonymous papers of an unfriendly character had been freely circulated; but the latter had demanded no explanation nor answer, and the former had signatures neither numerous nor influential enough to arrest action. From Staffordshire the most influential memorial had been presented, but this was only signed by 220 persons, of whom one-third were resident in one, and that not a very important, town. The feeling therefore in favour of the Conference was as unanimous as can be expected in these days, when to oppose any change is the policy most grateful to the indifferent and the irreligious, and especially when such opposition is made on the plea of conscience and Protestantism. These figures and facts were mentioned by the bishop in his opening address; and he added, "I wish it to be understood that if I had met with even a large minority, I would not have pressed this measure in the face of their decided opposition. I had no desire to disturb the peace of the diocese, and I am thankful to be able to say that it has not been disturbed." The labour of attending so many Conferences, in addition to the usual work of the diocese, had been very great, but the bishop declared that it had been to him a work of much enjoyment, as it made him acquainted both with clergy and laity in a more effectual and speedy manner than any other mode of visitation which he could have adopted: and he added with characteristic frankness and metaphor, "From this general expression of pleasure and satisfaction I do not by any means except those who have opposed me; for hearty, honest, and outspoken opposition brings with it a pleasure peculiar to itself. It is wearisome to sail always with a fair wind. A brisk breeze, even if it be contrary, is often the seaman's delight."

It was on the occasion of the successful inauguration of the Diocesan Conference that the bishop painted in fullest detail the sketch of Diocesan Organization which had been his ideal. In addition to all that has been already quoted he pointed to other great works looming in the distance. "We shall want," he said, "a Diocesan Fund, not restricted to special objects, but available, under the direction of the Diocesan Council, for church works and needs of every kind, the fund not to be frittered away in small grants here and there, but devoted annually to great diocesan works tending to give strength and stability to our system." Foremost among these objects he considered the support at the Theological College of the picked members of the corps of lay-agents: but there were costlier and more abiding projects behind: the unattached advowsons, the happy hunting-ground of the clerical agent and the dealer in simony, he wished to purchase for the diocese, in order to bestow them on "its own servants, drawn from its own people, educated in its own college, proved in its own ministry, and found faithful." For these same priests, when their strength failed and they could no more be again what once they had been, he wished to be able to provide "retiring pensions and quiet homes under the shadow of the cathedral," and when their laborious days were ended, what he had contemplated for himself, while in the heyday of his strength, "a cloister grave."

This was an ideal scheme, but nothing great is ever accomplished by the man who has not a high ideal: and George Herbert's words were never forgotten by the bishop, "that it is good to shoot at the moon even though you only hit a tree."

Thus the great master-builder secured for his own diocese at least a perfect example of that synodal action which he regarded as essential to the vigorous life of the Church as she is, the best protector against disestablishment, and the only true means of making her indifferent to the shock if it should come. The man who is content with the present condition of our Church in regard to legislation and internal government must be strangely constituted, for he must acquiesce in a system in which (1) bishops are irresponsible autocrats, in regard to the unbeneficed clergy, and powerless with regard to the beneficed clergy, save through the agency of an unconstitutional and abnormal exercise of the civil power; (2) the priesthood is unrepresented in the sacred Synods save through the qualifications of legal freeholds, which, unknown to any other Church in Christendom, enable their holders to perform their minimum of routine duty without chance of reproof or interference; (3) a laity, without any shadow of representation as churchmen; for the layman who is content with the House of Commons as the legislature of the Church must be densely ignorant and unobservant. It is the lack of proper ecclesiastical organization in which each order bears its part that estranges bishops from clergy, and clergy from laity, which tempts the laity to apathy and indifference, or to joining hands with the civil power in its encroachments on the province of the Holy Spirit, and leads all alike to trust unduly in endowments and privileges which a single session of parliament may sweep away. It was no triumph of what is called "tact" that gave Bishop Selwyn the power which he wielded over men, whether in Melanesia or *Melanthracia*, as he called the black country; he always credited people with possessing a high moral and spiritual tone, and thus he elicited the very spirit whose existence he assumed. So genuine was his belief in the virtue of our Lord's incarnation that he may be said to have possessed in the truest sense "the enthusiasm of humanity."

It had been among the many objections urged against the bishop's proposal that he was indifferent to the union of Church and State, that he even wished to abolish it, and that Diocesan Synods were either in contempt of such union or preparations for the state of things that would soon be brought about by their impending separation. He was not blind to the evils of both conditions, and probably had thought out the subject in all its bearings far more thoroughly than any of his critics: he had written thirty years before in his work on Cathedral Institutions: "The great question now is whether the principle of our Established Church or of the voluntary system shall prevail: and this is a question which must be decided by energy and not by learning; because ordinary men will only inquire which of the two systems is the more efficient. The strength of an Established Church lies in organization: the power of the Voluntary System on the facility with which it adapts itself to every moral change in the feelings and circumstances of men. The one has more consistency, the other more flexibility, and in both systems its defects are the exact converse of the chief advantages." Established the Church of New Zealand had never been, but the bishop had been endowed and disendowed, and was indifferent to either state of things. He had often congratulated himself on "the free air" of a Colonial Church unconnected with the State, and able to adapt itself to the emergency of the hour, and had remonstrated against the action of the civil power which for years had hindered the establishment of Synods and the subdivision of his diocese, on the assumption of a power which it was unable to justify: in New Zealand he had endeavoured successfully, on the one hand to provide moderate but yearly increasing endowments, and on the other hand to secure the operation of the best principles of the voluntary system: and now that his lot was cast in England he cared not a straw for the material dignity and wealth of an ancient See, and regretted with some bitterness that he could not do with the income of the See of Lichfield as he had done with the smaller income of New Zealand—divide it and his See with his four or five brethren: but he was no advocate for so great a change as was involved in the separation of Church and State. His policy may be described in his words as uttered in Convocation, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content."

He would have accepted the spirit of S. Paul's words, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called, being in a free Church, care not for it; but if thou art called in a Church which is allied with the civil power, use it rather." He would certainly not have attempted or desired to reconstruct in a new country the intricate relations, the result of so many centuries of union, which complicate both the civil and ecclesiastical elements of English society now, neither would he rudely cut the knot, and so turn loose on the world and on the Church a multitude of problems well nigh insoluble. These views he had an opportunity of explaining in public at a time when the disestablishment of the Irish Church was imminent, and was discussed both in the House of Lords and in Convocation, and in July, 1868, he started on the painful errand of severing the link that held him still to the diocese which he had served so well and so long.

He gave notice of his expected arrival in a letter dated from Lichfield on June 1, 1868, to his old friend Sir W. Martin, the ex-Chief Justice of New Zealand:—

MY VERY DEAR, DEAR FRIEND,

One month after you receive this, if it please God, we may again meet in the old haunts. "*O qui complexus et gaudia quanta.*" Nothing in England has yet come up to Taurarua and its associations. And yet the pressure of new work with new interest has begun to take its effect in making one feel at home. A careful visit through forty-six rural deaneries, with synodical meetings, has opened up to me a vast field of thought and, I hope, of action. The Synodical Organization may now be said to be complete on a basis very similar to New Zealand, substituting archdeaconries for dioceses. . . . . Archidiaconal Synods have been held at Shrewsbury and Stafford: all very pleasant and friendly: some party spirit in Derbyshire—strange statements in the *Record* of which you will hear, some positively, others by inference, untrue. They did not prevent the result as follows. Deaneries favourable, 43; deanery opposed, 1; deaneries equally divided, 4; total

48. Bishop Trower will be my *locum tenens*, with Mr. Thatcher for his secretary.

The visit to New Zealand was necessarily brief, and the voyage was fraught with perils more imminent than any that had befallen the bishop in all his previous wanderings. At Aspinwall, the plank on which he had walked when re-embarking snapped in two; he reached Wellington in safety, but the steamer in which he proceeded to Auckland was wrecked. In October the General Synod of the Province was held at Auckland, and sat from the 5th to the 17th instant. Six bishops were present and a full attendance of representatives, both clerical and lay. Bishop Patteson came from the distant Norfolk Island to look for the last time on the friend and leader at whose invitation he had left everything behind him. The Metropolitan in a long address dwelt on the importance of the Lambeth Conference, and showed how futile it was to look to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a possible bond of union to connect the Colonial Church with the Mother Church: that it would require an Act of Parliament to give to all clergymen, as such, the status of beneficed incumbents before that Judicial Committee could serve as a bond of union: that in England 5,000 curates, and abroad all the missionary clergy, together with chaplains in the army and navy, in gaols and workhouses, were all governed by special bye-laws or voluntary agreements, "with no other right of appeal to the Privy Council than that which may issue from any action for breach of agreement tried in any one of the lower courts of law." . . "I respect the feeling," he went on to say, "which makes many good men venerate, almost to idolatry, our English system . . . but I earnestly entreat you, as one who has seen the work of the Church on both sides of the world, hold fast to your voluntary compact: make it as perfect as you can: seek for communion with all the branches of our Anglican Church now scattered over the world: aim at one common standard of faith and ritual in all essential points: treasure up the memory of all the blessings and privileges which we have inherited from our Holy Mother, that it may be seen that by none is she more honoured and beloved than by the most distant of her children."

One promise he gave, which was abundantly fulfilled, "that to maintain that intimate union between the mother-Church and her colonial branches should be one of the chief objects of his life." On approaching struggles in England and threats of disendowment he "looked without fear, because we have learned by long experience that the Church of England lives and prospers, not by endowment or by connection with the State, but by the scriptural purity of her doctrine, and the Sacramental fulness of her Liturgy." After the election of the Bishop of Christ Church as "Primate" an address, signed by all the members of the Synod, and which is believed to have been written out of a full heart by Bishop Patteson, was presented to Bishop Selwyn and, both for its own sake as well as being a retrospect of a noble Episcopate for more than a quarter of a century, is here given:—

"We, the Bishops, clergy, and laity of the branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in General Synod assembled, most respectfully and affectionately address your Lordship upon your resignation of the office of President of this Synod.

"When your Lordship came into this country, more than twenty-six years ago, you began your work as the first and only Bishop of New Zealand by giving a more united and permanent character to the successful efforts of the early missionaries. You end it now as the primate of an ecclesiastical province by providing for the permanent maintenance of your Melanesian Mission, the offshoot of the New Zealand Church.

"This General Synod is itself a result and witness of your unwearied efforts for the organization of the native and colonial Church of New Zealand, and of your missionary labour among the islands of the West Pacific Ocean. The native of New Zealand, the English colonist, and the Melanesian islander are all represented here.

"With respect to the native Church, a Maori diocese has been constituted, and Maori Synods have been held; seventeen native clergymen have ministered, or do minister faithfully and loyally in different parts of the country; churches and schools have been built, endowments have been provided, clergymen and catechists have been maintained; and collections have been made for the heathen islanders of Melanesia by our Maori brethren.

"The Colonial Church in this country has been organized by you upon a system of Synodical action and voluntary compact, which secures to every Churchman who accepted it the enjoyment of true Christian liberty and the exercise of all Christian privileges.

"Lastly, it is to you, in the good providence of God, that the Melanesian Mission owes its existence, and such measure of success as it has pleased God hitherto to grant to it. Your faith and courage first carried the Gospel into those wild islands, and your wise forethought devised a method of carrying on the work, which experience has already shown to be well adapted to the peculiar circumstances of that Mission.

"And now we think, my Lord, how twenty-seven years have passed to-day since you received the episcopal office—years marked by extraordinary events in the history of our country and Church—an episcopate marked in an extraordinary degree by your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope.

"We humbly believe that, by your wide and varied experience of many forms of human life, by bringing you into contact with men in every stage of barbarism and civilization, or on lonely journeys in the solitude of New Zealand forests, and on the waves of the West Pacific, God's Holy Spirit has been training you for an even greater work than any that you have hitherto accomplished—for which all that has been done may be but the preparation—the crowning work, it may be, of your life to which He has now called you. It seems as if you had been sent first to warn the most distant members here, and were called now to quicken the very heart of our dear mother Church at home, so that the lifeblood may circulate with fresh vigour throughout the body.

"We know full well that you never cease to pray and labour for us, and you need no assurance from us that we will ever remember and pray for you. How can we ever forget you? Every spot in New Zealand is identified with you. Each hill and valley, each river and bay and headland, is full of memories of you; the busy town, the lonely settler's hut, the countless islands of the sea, all speak to us of you. Whether your days be few or many, we, as long as we live, will ever hold you deep in our inmost hearts. All will pray for you and yours; the clergy, to whom you have indeed been a father in God, the old tried friends with whom you have taken counsel, the younger men of both races whom you have trained, the poor whom you have relieved, the mourners whom you have comforted, the sick to whom you have ministered, the prisoners whom you have visited, all think of you now, and will think of you always with true and deep affection, will offer for you always their fervent prayers.

"We humbly pray God, who has given you the wisdom to conceive and the power to execute your great designs, that your high and noble example may be ever affectionately remembered and dutifully followed by us all, that the mind and spirit of its first Bishop may be stamped for all generations upon the Church of New Zealand, and that the multitude of the isles may learn, in years to come, the name of their first great missionary, and rise up and call him blessed."

The bishop's reply completes the history of the Australasian Churches from their foundation.

"I may say, in those words of Wordsworth, Praises, my friend, 'have often left me mourning.' It is the most difficult and most painful of all things to one placed in my position to reply to such kind expressions as are contained in the address: but in this case the pain is no doubt much mingled with pleasure. Suffice it to say that I have sought for support and comfort from many whose services are not so conspicuous as, though they deserve equal praise with my own if not more. I can say, as has been said on a very different occasion, 'Give God the praise; we know that this man was a sinner.' All the prosperity of the Church in New Zealand is the work of God. The finger of God has been manifested in all that has taken place in New Zealand from the time Mr. Samuel

Marsden landed here in 1814 until now. It is the comforting prophecy fulfilled that the little one shall become a thousand. It is a comfort that what one man has begun should become in little more than half a century what the Church of New Zealand now is. When I look around, and look at our New Zealand Church, and think of the time when I came to Sydney and found Bishop Broughton there, with a small number of clergymen around him, and reflect that now that little band has extended into all the provinces of New South Wales, with its immense variety of dioceses, Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, and these provinces of New Zealand, with all its satellites in Melanesia—I feel that the power and influence of God's Holy Spirit is being manifested upon earth, and that it has pleased Almighty God to enable us to see His power with our own eyes, so that we need not walk by faith alone, but by sight. Surely it is a great encouragement to all of us to recognise in everything the power of God working through human instruments, and bringing about in His own good time such vast results. If some of the pillars that have been erected seem to have fallen into decay; if some part of the native missionary work—that work in which so many of you were interested before I came here—if at this present moment that seems to have fallen into decay, may we not hope that, by God's providence, and in the inscrutable development of His will, this deep dejection will last only for a time, that the tabernacle which has fallen down may be built up again, and that the native people may return again to Christianity? Our native clergymen need not return, because they have not swerved: it may be said of each of them, like Milton's seraph Abdiel, 'Among the faithless, faithful only he.' Though they be few in number, they have been ever faithful to that faith which they have espoused, and still the native Church is full of vitality and hope. In all these things we can trace the special blessing of Almighty God, and the signs of steadfastness in the native pastors lead us to hope that the time is not far distant when the native Church will be restored again to even a better state than ever. That Church I leave to you, as I have said before as a special legacy. I hope you will not let the increase of European population so absorb your attention as to cause you to neglect that remnant, which, however poor it may be, is still a remnant in the great congregation of Christ. It is impossible for me to follow this too kind address through all its details, for that would involve the history of half a life. I will conclude now by most earnestly, most affectionately thanking you for this beautiful address, praying for you, as I am sure you will all pray for me, that all of you, in whatever station of life it has pleased God to call you, may fulfil your duty and perform your work with the full guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit, in bright and unclouded faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, letting no vanity, no ambition, no eccentricity, no private feelings of interest lead you into anything that will not tend to the good of the Church and the glory of God."

Most touching of all was the address of the Maori people, for whom he had done so much, whose cause he had espoused at the cost of his influence and popularity with his fellow countrymen, and of whose recovery he never despaired, even though a large number of them had apostatized.

The natives of the Waimate and the Bay of Islands, among whom had been for some years the place which he had called his home, were unable to come to Auckland, and had hoped that their old friend would have come to them, and seen once more the spot where he had first pitched his tent; but time forbade, and they sent by their own clergyman, the Rev. Matiu Taupaki, an address in Maori, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"Sire, the Bishop! salutations to you and to mother (Mrs. Selwyn)! We, the people of the places to which you first came, still retain our affection for you both. Our not seeing you occasions us grief, because there will be no seeing you again. We rejoiced at hearing that you were coming to see us; great was the joy of the heart; and now, hearing that it cannot be, we are again in grief.

"Sire, great is our affection for you both, who are now being lost among us. But how can it be helped, in consequence of the word of our great one, the Queen?

"Sire, our thought with regard to you is that you are like the poor man's lamb taken away by the rich man. This is our parting wish for you both: Go, Sire, and may God preserve you both! May He also provide a man to take your place of equal powers with yourself! Go, Sire, we shall no more see each other in the body, but we shall see one another in our thoughts. However, we are led and protected and sanctified by the same Spirit. Such is the nature of this short life to sunder our bodies; but in a little while, when we shall meet in the assembly of the saints, we shall see each other face to face, one fold under one shepherd. This is our lament for you in few words:

'Love to our friend, who has disappeared abruptly from
 the ranks!
Is he a small man that he was so beloved?
He has not his equal among the many.
The food he dispensed is longed for by me.'"

The general Maori address was in hardly less touching or characteristic terms:—

"To Bishop Selwyn, greeting,—Ours is a word of farewell to you from us, your Maori people, who reside in this island. You leave here these two peoples, the Maoris and the Europeans. Though you leave us here, God will protect both peoples, and Queen Victoria and the Governor will also protect them, so that the grace of Providence may rest on them both. O father, greetings! Go to your own country; go, the grace of God accompany you. Go, on the face of the deep waters. Father, take hence with you the commandments of God, leaving the peoples here bewildered. Who can tell that after your departure things will be as well with us as during your stay in this island? Our love for you and our remembrance of you will never cease. For you will be separated from us in your bodily presence, and your countenance will be hidden from our eyes. Enough! This concludes our words of farewell to you. From your children!"

And now the wrench had to be made: on October 20th, the day of parting came: a general holiday was kept at Auckland; S. Paul's Church was crowded on the occasion of the farewell service, and the streets and wharfs were thronged with thousands who were looking their last on the great Bishop of New Zealand. Hardly less enthusiastic was the reception at Sydney, where twenty-eight years before he had been welcomed by Bishop Broughton, and here, as always, he pleaded for peace and unity, and insisted on it that as the troubles of the Church increased, so did the necessity of seeking for counsel in synodical meetings to unite her members more cordially one with another.

There were some who thought the bishop superior to, or proof against, the softer emotions of humanity. It is well that such opinions should be confronted by the following letter written to his lay *alter ego*, Sir William Martin, after they had parted, as it seemed, for ever :—

"SYDNEY. *Nov. 2nd*, 1868.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

"After our sorrowful parting on the 20th (sorrowful, yet full of comfort) we were carried along rapidly so as to take our last look at New Zealand, twenty-four hours after the time of our leaving you. At 6.45 P.M. on the 21st Cape Maria Van Diemen melted away into the twilight mist. Another look at the 'Three Kings' was the close of all; and then the thought came upon me with great bitterness that I should never see the dear old land again. But the mind has now settled down upon its new bearings, and the magnet of English interests and work begins to draw me on."

In the last days of 1868 the bishop again reached England, accompanied by the Bishop of Wellington; his New Zealand See was not filled up, and he was commissioned by the Synod to elect his own successor. The Rev. W. G. Cowie, Rector of S. Mary's, Stafford, was subsequently consecrated Bishop of Auckland, the endowment having been raised by the energy of his predecessor, who for some time continued to be, as he said, "'l'Evêque des deux mondes,' another proof of that lust of power of which I have been accused."

On the Feast of the Circumcision the bishop addressed a pastoral letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lichfield, in which his plan of work was sketched out. He found that nothing had stood still during his absence, and that no arrears awaited him: that ordinations, consecrations, and confirmations, had all been provided for by Bishop Trower. The bishop was now single-handed, with no hope of obtaining episcopal help save by the division of the diocese, on which his heart was set, and in view of which all the details of the Archidiaconal Conferences had been arranged, yet he determined to hold Annual Confirmations for every part of the diocese, assigning to Staffordshire the months of February, March, April, and May; to Derbyshire, June, July, and August; and to Shropshire, September and October. He was released from his attendance in the House of Lords as Junior Prelate, and the Diocesan Organization now completed left him free to devote himself to the spiritual duties of his office. In his first pastoral letter he thus made known his intentions, and the light in which he esteemed the grace of confirmation, and the kind and method of preparation which he desired his clergy to observe.

"I venture to hope, in submission to Him, without Whom we can do nothing, that I shall be able to administer the rite of Confirmation *annually* in all the larger parishes; and in each of the smaller parishes once in *two* or *three years*, by a cycle so arranged that the Confirmation may be held in each parish in turn. There will thus be an Annual Confirmation for every large parish, and for every group of two or three smaller parishes. The Rural Deanery Chapters will kindly assist me in arranging this cycle in such a manner as may best suit the convenience of the clergy and of the candidates. Three, or at the most, four small Parishes may be included in each group.

I hope it may thus be found possible to induce the Parents and Sponsors of the Children to attend as witnesses of their Confirmation, and to meet the Bishop afterwards at the Holy Communion.

"Upon this plan no formal notice will be necessary to call upon you to begin to collect your candidates. Every Confirmation will be the means of inviting the young persons next in succession to present themselves as candidates for the Confirmation for the ensuing year. The impulse will not be lost, nor will the dead weight have to be heaved afresh by a new effort. The only notice required will be of the precise day of the Confirmation. The bishop's intention to hold a Confirmation, and the clergyman's continual work in preparing his candidates, will be assumed as a matter of course."

It was to continuous preparation for Confirmation, exhortation to which should be no more needed by the clergy than exhortation to visit the sick or to administer the Sacrament, and to the influence of the newly-confirmed on the younger children next in succession, that he looked as the most effectual means of retaining young persons, after Confirmation, in the exercise of religious duties. Every clergyman, he thought, should have his annual class of catechumens, as every vine had its annual vintage, and every cornfield its annual harvest; the work of Bible-teaching should never cease, but advance in love and earnestness, and in more personal application to the heart as the day draws nearer "when the Great Teacher of all things and Guide of all truth shall be invoked to pour down on the child His manifold gifts of grace."

A remarkable letter has been preserved, which shows still more plainly the bishop's view of the pastoral responsibility, and of the limits of the episcopal duty. A young woman who had been confirmed by him had fallen into open sin, and her case was known to the whole parish; the incumbent made it known to the bishop before his next visit, and suggested that he should refer to it as a warning to those about to be confirmed. The bishop wrote:—

"Your letter saddened my heart this morning, and brought home more than ever the need of the Comforter, to strengthen our frail children, and to encourage us to persevere under such discouragements. There is, I think, a necessity for caution in a bishop seeming to know too much of the arcana of a parish. It might lower the parish priest in the estimation of his people, and impair their confidence in him. The bishop could never do the pastoral work in a diocese like this for want of time and strength to deal with cases individually; he might supplant the parish priest without replacing him. Then as to myself: if I did not go on with my work in faith and hope I should soon fail; if I were to think that a large number of promises made in confirmation would be broken, how difficult it would be to keep up one's own tone of love and zeal! I would rather not know too much of details, but yet I shall be very glad to confer with you on the subject and see whether anything can be done."

His manner of administering confirmation was very striking and unusual; it is needless to say that the catechumens received the laying on of hands not by companies, but individually; when the numbers allowed he called each person by his or her Christian name, which had been his custom in New Zealand; the particular circumstances of each individual were made known to him, and those who had received lay baptism and had not been received into the Church were dealt with separately, and the reason for so doing explained. During the ten years of his Lichfield Episcopate he confirmed thus singly and carefully, by the aid of his coadjutors, just 100,000 souls; and his last public ministration, performed in much physical pain and weakness, was the confirmation of "those dear boys" at Shrewsbury. He determined also himself to institute, whenever practicable, every new incumbent *coram ecclesia*, and compiled a special office to be used on such occasions.

The constant intercourse which the Bishop thus had with the clergy and laity of his diocese not only made him acquainted with every part of it, but also let in a flood of light on the remotest corners, and in a certain sense made each man his brother's keeper. This was felt at once by those to whom an Episcopate thus careful and vigorous was distasteful, and was expressed in an exaggerated way by an old clergyman, who said: "When I was a young man it was thought sufficient for every one to do his own duty; but now every one is expected to do the duty of everybody else."

In March 1869 the bishop preached on the occasion of the consecration of the new chapel of S. John's College, Cambridge, a society that beyond almost any other has sent forth men qualified to serve God both in Church and State; its roll of members is unusually rich in the names of famous missionaries; on these the preacher dwelt with pride and thankfulness, and then he added:

> "And can we forget to-day that brother who went forth from this college to preach the gospel to the simple tribes of Southern Africa and ends, alas! in denying the faith he went to preach? We know that he has sinned a great sin; we trust that he has not sinned the sin unto death. O let us remember him to-day as we kneel at the holy altar!"

But work thus exacting threatened soon to do what New Zealand and Melanesia had been unable to do. When it is remembered what bodily, mental, and spiritual trials the bishop had gone through in New Zealand for twenty-seven years, and then how he had worked in the diocese of Lichfield during the first half of 1868, and then how he had crossed the world, had been shipwrecked, had wound up the affairs of his New Zealand See, and returned to England on December 31, 1868; and further how he had worked during the first six months of 1869, how the illness and death of his brother, the Lord Justice, had told upon him, it will be no matter of surprise that on August 8, while preaching to a crowded congregation at Hayfield he felt his heart almost give up work; at midnight he thought himself to be dying. As he said, "the boiler was not large enough for the engine." The next three months were full of great anxiety. The Bishop of Wellington had taken his confirmation work in June in order to allow him to be in London at his brother's bedside, and in August, the same assistance was given in Shropshire, and in the following month the Ordination was held by Bishop Abraham under a commission in Lichfield Cathedral. In addition to diocesan work and domestic sorrow the Bishop had taken an active share in the consultations and debates about the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church. To Sir William Martin he had thus described his proposals :

"I advise, Cassandra-like :—

"1. A declaration of adhesion to the Formularies of the English Church.

"2. A surrender into a common fund of the value of all life interests, which at 3¼ per cent. will yield half the present revenue.

"3. A proportionate reduction upon all benefices above £150 per annum, including bishoprics.

"4. A redistribution of parishes as lives drop, reducing the present number of clergymen from 2,000 to 1,500 or even 1,000, which last would give an average of 700 population to each clergyman; 1,000 + 700 = 700,000 Church members in Ireland.

5. An appeal to the laity to make good the deficiency until the reduction of numbers shall have restored the balance, 2,000 clergymen at half salaries = 1,000 ditto at full salary. There is no doubt the Irish Church may be made far more efficient than before ; but two rocks are ahead, self-interest and party spirit. Some are for claiming their incomes in full; some are for running a tilt against 'the objectionable passages in the prayer-book.' The Bishop of Wellington and I held up New Zealand, but people in England do not like 'a little child to lead them.' Thus pleasing nobody, I shall probably have no part in rebuilding the Irish Church, though I feel as if I had served an apprenticeship to qualify me to act as a master-builder. But the habits of thought are so different, the predominance of '*meum* and *tuum*,' is so strong that my '*nostrums*' will not be accepted."

The Bishop returned to Lichfield in October 1869, and he thankfully recorded the services of a trusty grey horse and an equally trusty coachman who had taken him in safety over North Derbyshire and up every hill out of Whitby in his "baker's cart," as he called the sort of exaggerated "cobourg" which took him with the same horse and coachman about the diocese, and was perpetually going to or from the station at Lichfield to welcome the coming or speed the parting guest. But though restored to health, the Bishop was not what he had been before his illness; he was weak in body and depressed in spirits by the fear that he would have to abandon all his plans for annual confirmations, for public institution of incumbents, and for the working of ruridecanal and archidiaconal conferences, and he resolved to resign his See rather than sacrifice the efficient administration of it. At that time the Bishop of Wellington again visited him; he had shaped his life since 1841 with a view to help the work of his friend, and he now offered to share the labours of Lichfield, as eighteen years before he had shared in the work of the undivided See of New Zealand. The offer was eagerly embraced, and so it came about that the Diocese of Lichfield, which needs subdivision more urgently than ever did New Zealand, has for long benefited by the services of Bishop Abraham.

Before the close of this year (1869) the bishop had cited the General Chapter of the Cathedral Church to meet in the chapter-house: the canons, both residentiary and non-residentiary, attended "to consider the reports of the Cathedral Commissioners, 1854-5, and to point out any matters suggested thereby which might be beneficially applied to increase the general efficiency throughout the diocese of the cathedral body."

Here was an attempt to embody in his own cathedral and in its system all the functions which thirty years before the bishop had claimed for cathedral establishments; he was especially fortunate in his cathedral, as he possessed an authority almost unique among the cathedrals of England, "with the assent and consent of the dean and chapter to repeal, abridge, alter, ratify, and confirm existing statutes and constitutions, and also, when it shall be necessary, to ordain and establish other wholesome and necessary statutes, constitutions, and decrees, for the good of the said Church."

At this chapter the members admitted the responsibility of exerting themselves to the utmost, both in their individual and corporate capacity, to bring the message of the gospel and the teaching of the Church to the masses of men within the diocese, and pledged themselves to devote their energies to the work in any way which might seem practicable and conducive to good. How truly the cathedral became the centre of spiritual life to the whole diocese will appear in the following pages: it should be stated here that the statutes were subjected to very careful revision and translation for some years, and on December 20, 1875, were ratified and confirmed by the bishop with the assent of the Chapter, and now present a body of intelligible and practicable regulations.

This was a great triumph and source of thankfulness, and on December 31 the bishop wrote to a correspondent at the antipodes:

> "Our chapter meeting at the close was most happy and harmonious: I had asked all the Prebendaries to stay over the night, and this secured us a second day on which before twelve o'clock we closed our proceedings with earnestness and solemnity, and with much thankfulness of heart. A few words (all that were necessary) were spoken, to withdraw all ill-considered expressions. On December 21, when the whole document had been printed, we met *pro formâ* to sign and seal, and so came to pass the *euthanasia* of the old *composition*, and of all of the unintelligible stuff which has been sworn to for 'four or five centuries.'"

Lichfield had under the rule of Bishop Lonsdale been among the first dioceses to establish Theological Colleges;

the lead had indeed been taken by dioceses, as Chichester, and Bath and Wells, whose necessities were the least urgent, and the theological seminaries, which in these cities owed so much to the care and learning of Canon Swainson and Canon Pinder respectively, must have the credit of considering the welfare of the whole Church rather than of the comparatively small dioceses in which they were founded. Cuddesdon had made a step in advance in 1854 when it opened its doors to students and provided for them all the advantages of common life to which its graduate members had been accustomed at the universities, and which to non-graduates formed no insignificant portion of the education offered to them. Lichfield had founded its theological college in 1856, and opened it in 1857, rather on the model of Wells and Chichester than Cuddesdon, in that its local habitation was limited to a hired house for the Principal's use, while the students found lodgings for themselves; it differed however from its predecessors in that, while it primarily offered to graduates the means of pursuing theological study and an opportunity of devotional and spiritual preparation for the priesthood, it avowedly regarded the spiritual necessities of the diocese as of first importance, and aimed at the training not only of graduates but also of non-graduates, a class of persons whom the needs of the diocese could not but welcome, and "about whom the question was not whether they should be admitted to Holy Orders, but whether they should pass through a regular course of training and preparation previously to their offering themselves to the bishop for examination." Of this class thirty-five students had passed through the college during the first ten years of its existence, of whom thirty-one had been ordained to curacies in the diocese of Lichfield.

This was a scheme entirely congenial with Bishop Selwyn's mind, and he threw himself into the work of the college and extended to it unfailing sympathy. In 1870 he set forth in a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity the necessities of the diocese, the most urgent of which, after the experience of more than two years and of nine ordinations, he declared to be an extension and improvement of the means of clerical education. The rapid increase of the mining and manufacturing population—the division of parishes—the multiplication of benefices—the grants for the maintenance of additional curates supplied by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and by the societies established for that purpose—had led to a demand for ministrations which the universities alone were quite unable to meet. The Bishop was entirely consistent with himself: thirty years before he had expressed his earnest hope that the Church would take root downwards, and "that many a rustic mother would feel an honest pride in the profession of her son and bless the Church which had adopted him into her service." In New Zealand he had groaned under the burden of inefficient and half-trained assistants, whose education had been only that of fifth-rate grammar-schools, and he was not likely to adopt the popular fallacy which, under the phrase "having the root of the matter in him," substitutes a flaccid pietism for the due cultivation of the highest gifts of God to man. Speaking at Wolverhampton he said, "My brethren of the clergy know well the difficulty of obtaining curates. The customary mode of advertising in the church newspapers may be said to have failed entirely in our populous parishes. Sometimes the advertisements remain for a long time unanswered, and very frequently they are answered by men who seek the curacy only as a title for Holy Orders with no intention of remaining in the parish longer than the stipulated time. Thus the work of our more important parishes is marred by a constant change and rapid succession of inexperienced curates. Thus an artificial demand is created for the ordination of many more clergymen than the diocese really requires. Upon this I am sometimes asked to lower the standard of clerical education and to abridge the period of probation. It may easily be seen that this would not supply the want. It would only produce an equally rapid succession of inexperienced men. Raw recruits and untrained levies are the first to shrink from the hardships of real warfare. So will the untrained curate shrink from the daily and hourly work of our town parishes. I need not say how the population of our towns is advancing, if not in real education, at least in acuteness and knowledge of the world. Can I consent to place over them an untrained curate with scanty knowledge and no experience? We must go to the root of these things. We must train our own men, clergy and laity alike must help. We must put aside all party feeling. Souls are lost, not saved, by parties in the Church. We have our own theological college now numbering fifty students. We are enlarging the college house to receive as many of them as we can under domestic rule. We send them out under licence to help the parochial clergy in district-visiting and schoolroom services. We teach them the Bible and the Prayer-book, and how to read, use, and understand them. We desire to make them Anglican Churchmen, neither more nor less, for we are assured that in no branch of the Church is there more of truth and less of error than in our own. We say this not in boasting, but in thankfulness."

His object was to utilize the services of men of humble origin and to equip them by the best training available. The one defect in the existing college was the absence of a house in which the unmarried students could lodge and have the full benefit of the collegiate system; this was remedied in 1870 by rental, and in 1873 by the purchase (the money being raised in part by the diocese) of an excellent and substantial house which provided accommodation for the principal and his family, for the vice-principal, and for twenty-five students, as well as a lecture-room and library; the next requirement was a fund to supply free exhibitions to men who promised to be useful clergymen, but who were unable to contribute to the cost of their training. There was something almost appalling in its sadness in the bishop's pastoral of 1870, when he said "I still receive urgent applications to accept as candidates for Holy Orders men who have neither obtained a university degree nor a testimonium from a theological college. The plea is always the same: That they have not the means of maintaining themselves at college. It is impossible for me to receive such candidates without lowering the whole standard of the examinations. And yet, in rejecting them, I may exclude many from the ministry who are more worthy than some of those whom I admit. It seems therefore to be most desirable that the collegiate house, for the present at least, should be used for the reception of foundation students to be selected after careful examination and upon special testimonials from clergymen under whom they have worked; and, in order that poverty may be no bar to their admission, that their whole expenses should be provided for."

Out of this grew the famous "Probationer System," which is believed to have had no counterpart in any English diocese, but which has worked sufficiently well to justify its introduction everywhere. At the Stafford Archidiaconal Conference, held in November, 1870, the bishop was requested to form a Board of Examiners for the purpose of testing from time to time the qualifications and attainments of young men recommended by the parochial clergy as probable candidates for Holy Orders. These examinations were held twice a year immediately after the Lent and September ordinations, and it was intimated that the course of probation and examination would probably extend over two years, and that a man thus tested would probably obtain the college testimonial in less than the ordinary period of two years.

It may be supposed that the special snare of young men whose social position is benefited by their becoming clergymen, although their pecuniary position is equally sure to be injured by the fact, is a spirit of self-assertion; the doubtfulness of one's position is ever apt to reveal itself in over-assertion of imaginary privileges: it is therefore necessary that men so circumstanced should in one sense be "kept down" while in all other respects they should be assisted to rise. As in New Zealand, so at Lichfield, the bishop found in self-help and mutual service the means of humbling and elevating such men: and it is no mean triumph of the power and success of the college system that a clergyman who experienced all the trials of a probationer, lay-helper, and college exhibitioner has, out of very love and gratitude to the bishop, contributed, at the request of one who was almost unknown to him, the following account of his own career.

"I very gladly send you some account of my remembrances of my late dear bishop. I came into the diocese in 1872 as lay-deacon of a scattered country parish, and I was one of the earliest 'probationers.'

"The probationer system is peculiar to the Diocese of Lichfield, and was started by Bishop Selwyn. Under it men may go up to Lichfield for examination twice in two years, during which they may either give themselves up entirely to lay-deacon's work, or may continue in their trade or profession, at the same time doing what work they can under the guidance of some parish priest. Another year before ordination has to be spent at Lichfield Theological College.

"I can never be sufficiently thankful for my two lay-deacon years. I gained information in them respecting pastoral work which has since been simply invaluable. We always saw the bishop when we went up to the Palace for examination, and were invited to luncheon, when he generally delighted to tell you stories about his New Zealand life. He was always kind, but thoroughly business-like on these occasions—perhaps just a trifle sharp. He had a special objection to being asked by any candidate to grant him a private interview, and the reason he once told us was that soon after he came to Lichfield he had seen several young men privately who had so misconstrued his words that in self-defence he was obliged to be more careful.

"During the early part of my time in the college house I had the misfortune to fall foul of the Principal, and the matter was reported to the bishop. In the next term I had occasion to ask for the use of the large room at the palace which the bishop had previously given me. I received a note from him in which he said that 'there could only be one objection to my having the room, and that was that he feared that I, like so many other young men, was apt to think more highly of myself than I ought to think.' My request was then granted, and in the kindest way the bishop pointed out to me the beauty of the grace of humility, and begged me to cultivate it. Some time after I gave a lecture in the large room for a charitable work in the diocese. On the following day I dined at the palace, and after dinner the bishop came across the drawing-room to see how I had succeeded. He then told me he had quite intended to be present himself, but was obliged to keep an engagement which could not be put off. He then went on to say that he always told people who were hindered by the rain from going to church when there was a collection, to send their offering, and that he must practise as he preached, upon which he gave me thirty shillings for himself and Mrs. Selwyn. He was always in his place at early college matins, which were said in the palace chapel. The chapel was at that time imperfectly warmed, and I have often shivered under two great coats and a gown. The bishop seldom if ever put on an overcoat, and we used to wonder at his powers of endurance. He was very quick to mark men's absence, and used to speak to them about it very severely. 'Mr. G.' he said to one man, "I have not seen you at chapel lately.' 'No, my lord, I have had a bad cold.' 'I think, Mr. G. your cold must have been bad since the beginning of this term.'

"He often visited the college house and brought over many of his visitors. My room was in the new buildings, and had been formerly a harness-room. The bishop one day brought in one of his rural deans and mentioned the fact, adding, 'But I think we have the collar on the right horse now.'

"I have been told that once before my time, the bishop came over to the college in the morning and joined the men in mowing the lawn. Presently the luncheon bell rang and he said he would go to the palace and get some lunch and come back and help to finish the work, but long before the men were ready the bishop was hard at work again with his coat off.

"Before the advent ordination, when I was ordained, the bishop required all the college men who were candidates to go to him for instruction; we were joined by several others. He generally kept us in the library for about three hours, giving us four days a week, and this he continued during the six weeks before the examination. He did not however 'cram' us for this; we often wished he would. He took such subjects as Sin, Justification, Confession and Absolution, Conversion, &c. His method was this. We generally found written upon a black-board a number of texts and references to the Prayer-book and Articles. We were supplied with paper, and told first to copy exactly what was written on the board, and then to digest it, looking out all the texts in the Greek Testament. While we were so occupied, the bishop opened his letters. He then took us in hand, going carefully and methodically through the subject, making us in turn read the verses and answer his questions, illustrating his remarks now and then by a reference to some book on his shelves, sticking like a leech to some unfortunate man who was idle or stupid, stopping perhaps to mend the fire, and then resuming the lesson, using the fire-shovel as a pointer, and teaching with the greatest energy and clearness. I look back upon these instructions with very great pleasure, the time was spent most usefully, and at the same time pleasantly, for the bishop himself was often the first to lead off the laughter when one of our number had perpetrated some 'bull.' He was most particular in requiring our attendance. One man had been stopping at a country house in the neighbourhood, and had managed to come into the library when the lesson was half over. The bishop inquired the reason of his late appearance, and was told that the roads were in such a slippery condition that the horses could not be taken out earlier. 'If it had been a football match,' replied the bishop sternly, 'I expect you would have managed it.' At the same time he would, if possible, allow nothing to interrupt him when giving his instructions. Many a time did his secretary bring in the cards of clergymen who wished to see him, and the almost invariable reply was, "Ask Mr. so-and-so to stay to lunch, I shall be glad to see him afterwards;" and on one occasion Sir Percival Heywood had called to see the bishop. He left the room for a minute, and then returned with Sir Percival, and introduced him to "his young men," and then left him and resumed his work. What struck one most at this time was the great *method* of his lessons, and his wonderful knowledge of the Bible and Church formularies, and he frequently told us that his object in spending so much time with us was that when we got into our parishes we might "know our way about our Bibles and Prayer Books." Certainly if we did not it was through no fault of his. I hope we all appreciated his kindness in adding this to his already too abundant labours. In addition to the positive information which we gained, there was this great advantage, that we could no longer regard him as a stranger. We felt as we went forth to our work that we knew our bishop, and that he knew us.

"The Ember Week was a memorable time. All the candidates fed at the palace. The day began with matins in the cathedral, and ended with evensong in the palace chapel. Addresses were given each evening by chosen preachers—the bishop himself always giving the closing address on the Saturday evening. I was so fortunate as to hear him on several of these occasions, and can testify to the remarkable earnestness and power of his eloquence at such times. No other address ever equalled his. We knew our fate on Friday morning, and the Friday and Saturday were spent in quasi-retreat. On the morning of Saturday, the bishop gave us a lecture on the oaths, using the blackboard, as was his custom, and in the afternoon we took the oaths in the library. Of the Ordination itself I need not speak, except to mention how solemnly the bishop performed his portion of the service. At the close we walked in procession to the palace, opening out when we reached the door for the bishop to pass between us. He then stood at the door, and as each one entered he received us with a warm shake of the hand and "God bless you, Mr, ——." The evening was spent pleasantly in the drawing-room. The bishop was truly our *Father* in God—not, indeed, fond or demonstrative, but true, strong, and loving. I may mention several instances of his kindness to myself. I was curate of a district in a large awkward colliery parish, in which a permanent church was urgently needed. My vicar had given me *carte blanche* to do what I could in the matter, and the first thing was to consult the bishop. This I did when I went to Lichfield for my priest's orders. He appointed an interview for the afternoon after the ordination, and then, tired as he must have been—for the number of ordinands had been large—he went most carefully into the subject, questioning me closely as to the condition of the parish, and finally promising to do all he could to smooth the difficulties, and giving me, as I knelt before him, his blessing for this special work. I can only say that so earnest was his manner, one could almost *feel* the blessing come, and I cannot tell you how valuable I felt it to be in the great difficulties which the project had afterwards to encounter. He called me back as I was leaving the room, and bid me remember that "Rome was not built in a day," and that whatever was worth doing was certain to be laborious, but that I must be of good cheer. The church is now nearly finished. Twice I had occasion to consult the bishop about leaving the curacy to which I was ordained. The first time he sent me the following letter, which I reckon amongst my great treasures:—

"'THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *June 7th*, 1876.

"'MY DEAR MR. ——

"'I have read and considered the correspondence herewith returned, and have been led, I trust, by the guidance for which we pray especially at this holy season, to the following judgment: 1. That you are placed in a position of great usefulness at ——, in the midst of great spiritual destitution. 2. That the work, by God's blessing, has begun to prosper in your hands. 3. That all such plans as are now in progress are entered upon with the morally implied condition, that you will not leave them to fall away and come to nothing, for a mere preference for some other field of duty of a similar kind. A call to a fixed position as a beneficed clergyman is, I think, very different from a change of one curacy for another. My fatherly advice to you is, not to add one more to the number of curates who 'never continue in one stay.'

"A year and a half later on I was in great doubt as to what course I should pursue. My best friends one and all advising me to seek another sphere of work. I would however, 'do nothing without the bishop,' who promised to see me when he visited the parish shortly for a Confirmation. When the Confirmation was over—the second he had held that day—he sent for me and asked me to walk with him, shaking hands with some of the choirmen and kissing the sexton's little children as he left the churchyard. He kept me with him for about an hour, and listened far more patiently than I had even wished to all my grievances, reproving me where I seemed to be in the wrong, and comforting me where he thought I needed comfort. I happened to make use of the expression 'my views.' He turned sharply round upon me and begged me not to make use of it any more—he had been so thoroughly sickened of it in his earlier life, when he was thrown much into contact with good people who called themselves Evangelicals. But when I explained to him what I did believe, he was pleased to say it was perfectly scriptural and sanctioned by the Church. He entered most kindly into all I had to say, reminding me of St. Augustine's words, that 'the greatest trial is the absence of a trial,' and telling me that the best way to get rid of suspicion is to live it down. I said that I was quite aware that if I left the parish just then there would be a lapse in the work. 'Yes,' he replied, 'and these lapses are fatal things.' He finally bid me do my best to stay on, adding, that if at the end of six months' time I still found myself uncomfortable, I might write and tell him. And when I said that I did not like to trouble him so often, he replied that he did not mind the trouble; and then with his blessing he bid me good-bye. It is now more than a year and a half since then, and I am just leaving my curacy for a benefice—most thankful for the bishop's advice and that I have been able to follow it. I must bring this too long letter to a close, and will only add that when he was removed from us I felt, in common with many of my brethren, that a dear father was gone, and that a void had been made in life which we could never expect to be filled again. But we felt also that in his example he had left us a splendid legacy."

The bishop had also contemplated the endowment, under the provisions of 3 & 4 Victoria c. 113, of the two suspended Canonries in the Chapter of the Cathedral, in order that one might be held by the Principal of the College and the other by a Bishop-Coadjutor. The Rev. Canon Latham recognised the importance of the bishop's suggestion in a very practical manner, for under an Act recently passed by Parliament he resigned the Stall which he had held in the Cathedral, and the bishop immediately conferred it on the Principal of the College, the Rev. G. H. Curteis. The necessary consent to the revival of the suspended Canonries was never obtained, and there are at the present time only four Canons Residentiary connected with the Cathedral.

CHAPTER VII.

LICHFIELD.

[1871—1877.]

In 1871 the bishop determined to accept the invitation of the American Church to be present at the Triennial Convention held at Baltimore; it was no holiday trip, however pleasant the incidents of the double voyage or of the sojourn among our fellow-Churchmen in the New World; but it was part of the work to which he had pledged himself when he accepted the See of Lichfield, that he would do all that was possible to him to promote intercommunion and living sympathy between all the branches of the Anglican Church. He was obviously of all men the one best able to grapple with the task; none had such varied experiences among the colonists and the heathen, none had so successfully planted a young Church and supplied it with the powers of self-government as he, and of the prelates of the mother-Church no more true representative could have been sent forth. He had also long ago entertained feelings of warm admiration for the American Church. At the time of his appointment in 1841 the late Bishop Doane of New Jersey, who was then staying in England, and was commanding the attention of all Churchmen by his preaching and his counsels, had written words of greeting to him. Letters passed occasionally during the early years of Bishop Selwyn's residence in New Zealand, and on May 23rd, 1845, he had written the following acknowledgment of some gifts sent to him from the American Church by the hands of the revered Bishop of New Jersey:—

May 23rd, 1845.

My dear Friend and Brother,

. . . . I rejoice, yea with trembling, if this infant Church can already be the means of awakening some Christian hearts, even in your distant diocese, to a feeling of the unrevoked commandment, laying upon all Christian men the continual obligation to "preach the Gospel to every creature." This is one of the greatest comforts we derive from the thought of the circle of light with which our confederate Churches have now girdled the globe. We may hope that no point of Christian duty can hereafter be lost or hidden; that when it is forgotten for a time in one portion of the Church Catholic, there will still be a living flame on some other altar from which the extinguished torch may be re-kindled, that dioceses, as well as individuals, may thus provoke one another to good works, and check and rebuke the growth of heresy and error. The free communion of Christian boldness of all the branches of the Church may have all and more than all the effect of the General Councils of old in purifying and invigorating her discipline, and so, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, bringing on the day when she will be presented to God a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

You cannot confer on us a greater benefit than by communicating freely all your own experiences, derived from the comparatively free estate of your Episcopacy, its powers and functions: its effects on the people: its position with regard to all subordinate institutions of the Church: in all which parts it is easy to see that the English Episcopate has suffered much by its alliance with the State. Here we are at present in a situation very much resembling your own: with few or no outward hindrances to prevent the full canonical character of the office being developed with all its living energy and operations upon the hearts of men.

It was altogether an occasion of unusual interest, and full of unprecedented opportunities of usefulness; the

American prelates, who had attended the Lambeth Conference of four years previously had returned with warmer feelings towards the mother-Church than they had ever entertained before; they had sat on the equal seats of the common Episcopate, and had been made to feel that their presence in England in response to the Primate's invitation had been cordially appreciated; and now the first English bishop to visit America was the one around whose name a halo of romance had for years been cast, whose fresh counsels and fearless policy had won the hearts of his brethren as they heard him speak at Lambeth. It was also the year of Jubilee of the Missionary Society of the American Church, out of which had grown the Board of Missions, and it was thankworthy that such an epoch should be marked by the presence of one of the greatest of living missionaries. Thus it came to pass that the bishop found no rest, but worked as hard in America as he would have done in his own diocese.

On 8th October he preached the sermon on the occasion of the consecration of Bishop Howe, the Assistant-Bishop of South Carolina. The text was Ephesians i. 22—23, *The Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.* It would seem that in America as in England there are those whose religion takes the form of objecting to the faith and practice of their brethren, and to those the bishop directed the following passage:—

> "Nothing is more right or laudable than jealousy for the purity of religion or for the glory of God. But it must be a discriminating jealousy, lest while it burns up the tares it burns up with them the wheat also. The faithful watch-dog does not bark at the children of the house, or at the master's familiar friend. The faithful sentinel knows how to distinguish between friend and foe. When Christ overturned the seats of those who sold doves, He did not condemn His mother for offering up in the same temple a pair of young pigeons.

"If any one is ready to take offence at the cross in the ground-plan or on the spires of our churches, he must find fault with the firmament itself, for there also is the sign of the Cross; and many there are and ever will be in that Southern hemisphere where I have long lived, who without a single thought of worshipping that starry cross, or putting it in the place of Christ, will rejoice to see it shining there, in the midst of the darkness of the starless Southern pole, as an emblem of the true light that shone in the midst of darkness from the Cross on Calvary, a light to lighten every man that cometh into the world.

"No; we will no more be ashamed of the Church of Christ than we will be ashamed of Christ Himself. If there be times when the Church has been darkened by superstition, if those times be not even now past, is it not the same with Christ Himself? Can we be silent of the name of Christ because some men deny His Godhead? So neither will we shrink from setting the Church upon a hill, because scribes and Pharisees trusted in themselves that they were righteous. So neither will we suppress the Word of God, because some men wrest it to their own destruction. So neither will we give up our Form of Common Prayer, because some may use it only as a form. So neither will we doubt the necessity of Sacraments, because some are so ignorant as to trust to the outward act. We look not to that which is below, but to that which is above: not to the corruption of that which is good, but the fulness of the Divine love from which the good proceeds. If we are told to bring our children to Baptism, or to come ourselves to the Lord's Supper, we must not plead that we have seen baptized children grow up into ungodly men, or that we have known communicants who have lived unholy lives.

"The Word of God, the Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, every ordinance of prayer and praise, the ministry of the Church—all may suffer corruption, all may be perverted to evil; the spirit of religion may be lost sight of in the form; the outward sign may usurp the place of the thing signified; visible things may withdraw the mind from the thought of the God eternal, immortal, and invisible; the Lord's Day may be made a day of rioting; all holy things may seem to fall into decay, as man himself, the image of God, fell: but to neglect God's gifts because of man's abuse of them; to set aside God's commandments because of man's disobedience; to doubt God's promises because of man's rejection of them,—this is not the way to attain to pure and spiritual religion of the heart. We must wait for God in the way of His commandments."

During the session of the Convention the Jubilee Meeting of the Board of Missions was held. Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania, now well known to so many English Churchmen by reason of the prominent part which he took in the Lambeth Conference of 1878, presided, and could without boasting thank God for what the Church of America had been allowed to accomplish. The great continent in the ever-opening Western regions had offered a field as full of opportunities of doing and suffering for Christ, as any, however remote, part of the globe, and nobly has the American Church, with her full freedom to increase her Episcopate, discharged her duty. To China and Japan she has sent her fully organized Missions, with the Bishop at the head, and to Africa she has made the noblest atonement for the wrongs of her sons by sending to its deadliest coasts the Messenger of the Gospel.

It was not without significance that the presiding Bishop of a Church which had done such great things should thus, with an entire absence of exaggeration or hyperbole, introduce and speak of his guest, the Bishop of Lichfield:—

"We have to-night with us, beloved, one who, thirty years ago this very month, was consecrated as a Missionary Bishop to go forth, far, far south, beyond where you can see these stars, beyond the equator, and beneath that glorious Southern Cross that glitters in the southern sky. He was sent there. The cross was in the sky; but, oh! the hearts of the men that lived beneath that cross were benighted. They knew not of Him who hung upon the Cross. They knew not of the love that gave itself upon that Cross for their souls. And he went forth in his youth as the standard-bearer to hold up the Cross over the land beneath, as God had held it over the southern pole. He went there, and he laboured there, and his labours, by the favour of God, have been so blessed that one diocese of his has grown into seven dioceses, with their bishops and their clergy; and that land which he found in a state of semi-barbarism, just, as it were, coming out of the benighted state of intense heathenism, he has left nominally a Christian land. And may we not say that he has won for himself a crown? And as over that Southern Cross, as it hangs in the southern sky, there is also the Southern Crown, so to him who has borne the Cross aloft in those far-off regions, may we not say there remaineth the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the Righteous Judge, shall give him at that day for his missionary work?"

The address which Bishop Selwyn delivered on this occasion was one of the most masterly even of his many great efforts. It unfortunately was not published in England, and consequently was little known in this country; it was no record of his own doings and experiences, but an exhaustive treatise on the principles of missionary work; and incidentally it dealt with both the objections of opponents and the apologies of timid friends. It is not possible to omit so important an expression of views so deliberately formed and modified by the experience of a life-time, and which must have an abiding interest so long as Missionary work continues to be carried on in the world. After some preliminary remarks, the Bishop of Lichfield said—

"As you heard a most comprehensive sermon last night on the subject of Missions, I shall not enter much into the purely spiritual part of the question; but I must lay down just these few plain principles, and if there be any one here who differs from me in any one of them, I should like to have a few minutes' private conversation with him; but I rather believe there is no one who will not accept these five or six leading principles:

"First, that the commandment of our Lord is to His

Church to go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

"Secondly, that that commandment is binding upon us all, not to be left to voluntary efforts, not to be optional with ourselves whether we discharge it or not, but that this must be laid upon every member of every living branch of the Church of Christ as his bounden duty to discharge in his own part and in his own person, both by his alms and by his prayers, if not by his personal effort, that share of this great work which God has given him to do.

"And then, I think, none of us will dispute this great fact also, that the God of Missions is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation 'he that feareth God and believeth in Him is accepted by Him.' Then, I think, we shall further agree, also, in this great principle, that 'God has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the whole earth.' And then, further, I hope we shall agree also in this, that all the nations of the whole earth, though they may differ in essential respects on all other points, though there be differences of intellectual power, differences of culture, differences of civilization, yet all have at least that measure of capacity to receive the grace of God which is necessary for their receiving the benefits and the blessings of the Christian covenant.

"And then, dear brethren, I must also claim your belief in this great principle, that Jesus Christ shed His blood and died for all alike; and then, further, for this, that, through our Blessed Saviour, and in fulfilment of His promise, and in answer to His prayers, the Holy Ghost is poured out upon all flesh; and then the last principle with which I desire your agreement is this: that at the last day, that God, who is no respecter of persons, but who cares for all alike, will 'gather together His elect from the four winds of Heaven, a great multitude which no man can number, of all peoples, and all nations, and all kindreds, and all tongues, to stand before His Throne, and before the Lamb.'

"There is our foundation. No other can be laid. No one single stone, I believe, of that foundation can be removed. Now, then, let me trace these principles into their actual operation. With all this clear statement of the Gospel, of which I have given this imperfect outline, is it not strange that we should hear on many sides distrust, coldness, suspicion—everything, in fact, the most opposite to that full current of willing faith and that readiness of hearty love with which we should expect that all Christian persons would receive this great spiritual obligation of taking their part in the work of Christian Missions? Ever since I have been in any degree connected with Missions, I have endeavoured, as far as I could, to analyse all these questions, to find out what it can be which, in the face of all Scripture, in the face of all our repeated statements of belief, in the face of what every one will admit to be his duty if he is questioned upon it, shall nevertheless produce this result, that there is a coldness, and that there is a deadness, and that there is a backwardness, in the cause of Christian Missions. If you will have patience with me, I will endeavour to trace out some of these hindrances, one by one. And the first comes under the head of time.

"We are growing more and more impatient every day. When it pleases God to multiply our facilities of locomotion, when men run around to and fro upon the earth, send their messages across the earth with the rapidity of lightning, call unto their aid fire and water—the most opposite elements, and even (as was said of your great statesmen in old times), bring down the lightning from Heaven to do their errands, we come into such an impatient state that we cannot even allow God to carry out His own work in His own time, we must have it at once; we number as it were a few years within which we will try our finite experiments, we fix a sort of limit to our hopes, that if in ten years or if in twelve years we can see some visible result, then we are to have faith in the work of Missions, then we are to take courage and go on! Dear brethren, have we yet to learn that all results must be left in the hands of God? If the world by God's providence, by His determinate counsel and foreknowledge, waited four thousand years for its Saviour; if the first great Missionary, the patriarch Abraham, was content to receive the promises, and to embrace them, and to see them afar off, and yet was content with that one single spot of earth, that grave of Machpelah, as his only inheritance in the

Promised Land, and his own one son Isaac as the only representative of that great multitude, countless as the stars of Heaven and as the sands upon the sea-shore, which were to be made his children by adoption and grace; oh, then, dear brethren, let us dismiss this. We have nothing whatever to do with time; we are the servants of that God with whom 'one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day.' Let us be content to work on, to do all that we can in our little lives of threescore years and ten, and be content to lie down and say that, so far as visible results and tangible success are concerned, we have nothing whatever to boast of, but that we have sown in God's name the seed which, after its appointed period of latency, in God's own appointed time, shall spring up and bring forth fruit, some thirtyfold, and some sixtyfold, and some an hundredfold.

"The next great hindrance to this practical faith in the work of Missions which I will bring before you is the imputation, which you hear on all sides, of failure. Let us go to Holy Scripture for that. Was St. Paul satisfied with the results of his works in any of the Churches which he planted? Did he not live to see much decay? Was it not necessary for him to administer severe rebuke? Still more, did not that Apostle, who by our Lord's will exceeded by twenty years the prophetic limit of the utmost span of human life, who lived to the age of one hundred years, live only to see that some of the Churches planted by himself had fallen into decay, that their candlesticks were about to be removed, and yet that the light which was quenched in one part of the Church of Christ would assuredly be rekindled in another?

"No, brethren, there is no such thing as failure in the works of God. God permits our works to seem to fail, to try our patience, to prove our faith, to encourage us to prayer, to make us more earnest in His work, lest if He were to grant us too large a measure of success, we should, as in the days of our temporal prosperity, forget the God who gives us our wealth, and attribute it to the efforts of our own hands—accept the gift, but forget the Giver. No; then let no failures, real or apparent—real, I think, there cannot be; apparent, there ever will be—let no failures ever enter into our minds; let us simply do God's work in God's name, with prayer for God's blessing, and be assured of this, that in good time we shall reap if we faint not.

"But now, then, to speak of failures on a lower ground. Have we a right to speak of failures after such miserable, such impotent, such parsimonious attempts as we make to evangelize the world? If I send a man to lift with his single hand a weight of three or four tons, lying on the ground, and he comes back to me and says that he cannot lift it, shall I say that that man has failed? No, dear brethren; neither would I say that Missions have failed, when we send out one poor helpless man to preach the Gospel to a million of idolaters—when we place in the midst of the great Empire of China, which, as you have heard, contains three hundred millions of heathens and idolaters, one or two Missionaries, unassisted save by the grace of God; forgotten even, perhaps, by many of those who sent them out; deriving a precarious subsistence from alms, not always given with perfect readiness, and withdrawn often on the slightest pretext. No, dear brethren; if we wish to evangelize the world, if we wish really to test this question of success and failure, let us send out to the heathen such embassies as we send out in our civil capacities to all foreign States; let us take care that the majesty of the Church of Christ is represented by the dignity of the ambassadors of Christ; let all men see that we are in earnest; that we are not expecting them to believe that one poor, simple, unassisted man represents the great dignity and majesty of a whole branch of the Church of Christ to the three hundred millions of idolaters in China. Let the means be, in some degree at least, commensurate to the work, before we turn round upon Missions and say that they have failed.

"Now another subject, and one of equal importance, and that is the alleged difference of capacity. I have already touched upon that; but you know, dear friends, what a false philosophy there is abroad, which is absolutely contradicting what we find so often in the Word of God, whether in those exact words or in similar words, that 'God is no respecter of persons.' I grant that there may be some excuse, when even an inspired Apostle, after the day of Pentecost, after the Holy Ghost had been poured upon him from on high, required a vision thrice repeated, to convince him that God is no respecter of persons. It may well be matter of excuse—and God will excuse those who pray to be forgiven—if some of us have not yet fully comprehended this great Divine truth, that all mankind are endued by the Spirit of God, in God's own time, with a sufficient measure of capacity to receive everything that is necessary for the salvation of their souls; that there is no one single human being on the face of God's earth who is shut out from the promises of the Gospel by any difference of intellectual or of moral capacity. And yet how frequently is it alleged: 'It is no use to do anything for these people; look at them; are they not the very lowest type of humanity?' Dear brethren, I have seen myself what men call the lowest types of humanity. I have seen the Australasian Blacks; I have seen those poor benighted men in Erromango who have twice killed the Missionaries of the Gospel who landed on their shores, first John Williams, and then Mr. Gordon; and I am sure that those men, I know that those men have the same capacity, in all necessary respects, for the reception of Divine truth that any one of us is gifted with by God among those who are present here to-night. I have been present with some of them on occasions of which I need not speak at length, when one of this despised race was sentenced to death, and I attended him at his execution. I must say that, with the imperfect knowledge of our language, with all the difficulty of communication with that man that I had, he left upon my mind, at the moment that his irons were being struck off, the impression that he died with just so much of simple faith as was accepted by Jesus Christ from the penitent on the cross.

"I then pass from that subject, that difference of capacity, begging you all to shut out from your minds that poisonous philosophy which draws distinctions between man and man, which God has never drawn, and which will be reversed in Heaven when the whole multitude of God's elect shall come to stand before His throne.

"Now, then, for another point, and that is one perhaps of which you have heard something here—the different habits of some of the races to whom God commands us to minister. The favourite phrase is, the wandering habits, the unsettled habits, the changeable habits, of this or that race of people. In Australia there were the Australian Blacks wandering from place to place, and they were supposed to be therefore shut out from all hope of conversion. Here you have your Red Indians, the wild men of the woods, men of whom poets speak, as 'wild in woods the noble savage ran.' All that was poetry; but you hear them spoken of as men who, because they are hunting tribes, because for their bare subsistence they move from place to place, are therefore incorrigible; that it is unnecessary to make the attempt; it is sure to fail. I see here one of your own six Missionary Bishops,—he is behind me here—the Bishop of Minnesota. I have conversed to-day with one of his clergy. He tells me that there are forty-five hundred of those Indians in Dakota who are now giving up under the influence of Christianity those very wandering habits which were supposed to be fatal to the hope that they would ever receive it. He tells me that they are now settling upon farms; that they build houses resembling our own; that they have given up their life in wigwams, their communist life; that they are settling down in the domestic walks of a life like our own; that they fill their churches on the Lord's Day; that they bring their children to be baptized; that their youths come to our schools; that they are in fact acquiring day by day, and with far greater rapidity than even their best friends would have expected, the usages both of Christianity and of civilized life.

"Now, dear friends, why is that? Because Missionaries have been found who, instead of expecting wild men to conform to our habits, have made our habits conformable to theirs, who have followed them up from place to place and won their confidence, who have lived the same rough life that they have lived, and gained their hearts by showing a real sympathy for them in their benighted state. But we propose an impossible problem which perhaps I may illustrate from ancient history. The fable, you know, is that the beginning of civilization came from that great musician whose name was Orpheus; that he went out with his harp into the woods, and played such captivating strains that the wild men of the woods followed him, and built cities in order that they might ever remain within the sound of that music which so touched their hearts. But we say No; we tell these wild men of the woods: 'Come into our cities, give up your wandering lives, and then we will play music to you;' so that the music is to be the end and not the means; that the Gospel is to be preached to them when they have first accepted that total change of manners which nothing but the Gospel can produce.

"Let us then dismiss that subject. Let us believe—and I hope we shall all agree—that there is no one single nation on the face of God's earth, the habits of whose people are of such a kind that they cannot come within that universal promise that all mankind shall, in God's time, be subdued to the obedience of faith.

"Now, then, another and a very solemn point, and it is what you have all heard—I believe that what I say to-night is simply what all of you have heard by way of objection, though perhaps the answer has not occurred to you all;—I have heard it again and again: 'They are dying out;' just as if the poet Tennyson were to say:

> "A year is dying in the night;
> Ring out, wild bells, and let him die."

"Is that Christianity? is that the Gospel—absolutely to take comfort to ourselves, to shut up our hearts, to close our pockets, because we say: 'Here is a race which is dying out, and therefore we have no duty to discharge'? Dear brethren, I could bring that home to you by a very simple illustration. If any one of you, parents, had a child that was dying, and you were to go to your clergyman to beg him to go down to offer a prayer for that child, would you take it as a sufficient answer if that clergyman were to say: 'The child is certain to die; what is the use of coming down to pray for it'? Would you not, in the fulness of your hearts, in the agony of your parental love, use words like those of the nobleman to our blessed Lord: "Sir, come down ere my child die'? So, dear brethren, if those races of the earth be, in God's providence, appointed to pass away,—not, remember, because of any Divine purpose, but in consequence of the sins, the vices, which follow in the train of civilization (for these are the causes of death, which is claimed as a mysterious dispensation of God, that the coloured races should melt away before the advance of civilization); and if there be other races of the earth which are by God's providence appointed to pass away, as the natives of Newfoundland have passed away, as the last native of Van Diemen's Land has passed away; so much the more think of those that remain. Give your alms and lift up your prayers for the remnant that is left. And as for those that have passed from this earth, not one of them is dead; they are all alive; they will all stand with us before the judgment-seat of Christ. Whether their blood will be upon our heads, is one of those secret things which belong unto the Lord our God.

"Once more; I have but a few more thoughts to bring before you, and those, perhaps, of a more practical kind. Another great argument is the want of means. We have before us the scope of our work. We have heard of how much has been done. Let us think now what remains undone. There are, perhaps, of all denominations of Christians, about three hundred millions on the earth. The common estimate of those that remain in heathendom is twice that number. Think nothing done, then, while aught remains. Think nothing done till the whole is completed; till the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. And then we hear: 'Where are the means?' Dear friends, we never knew any branch of our good English family that ever lacked means to do any work whatsoever, however great, which it determined to do. I know that for the purpose of war in that little petty war in New Zealand, provoked against the native races, we spent over 7,000,000*l.* sterling. I know that for the redemption from captivity (most justly, it is true, and most worthily of the object) of forty souls that were taken captive in Abyssinia, the British Government thought it not too much to spend more than 5,000,000*l.* sterling. I know how these vast works of commercial enterprise, all these great railways, all these great engineering feats, of which we boast, are always supported with abundance of means commensurate with the end to be obtained. I have no fear, then, whatever, that if your hearts be willing you can find the means. The means are abundant; the only question is, Are you prepared to give them? There is no compulsion save that constraining love of Christ of which we have heard. There is no man's taxation, but there is that written law of God that we should give to Him as freely as we have received; there is that inexhaustible bank upon which we all may draw, the very essence of our Christianity, the very fulfilment of our Founder's command, that we should deny ourselves in order that we may take up our cross to follow Him; and will not any one of you here present say that he or she could not, out of their daily personal expenditures, save at least one-quarter, for the service of God, of that which they now spend upon themselves? And put all that together, and then tell me—even if China were to open all its doors to receive our Missionaries, even if Dr. Livingstone would come back from the heart of Africa and tell us that there also a great and effectual door was opened for the Redeemer's march over the earth, if the whole world were to say to us, as if with one voice: 'Come over and help us'—whether, if you only deny yourselves, the means will ever be wanting.

"Next, as to the men. There is another cry—and this is the last with which I shall trouble you—'Where are the men?' Dear friends, when our blessed Lord said that 'greater works than these shall ye do, because ye believe in Me,' He left a little band. That band of one hundred and twenty that gathered in that upper chamber, that little band of five hundred that saw Him in Galilee before His Ascension, that was the sum total of the men to whom Christ gave this vast commandment, this stewardship of the souls of all mankind. How was it fulfilled? The Spirit who came down from Heaven so endued them with power from on high, that while, in the infant state of the Church, men required signs to induce them to believe, 'God's Spirit working with the Apostles confirmed the word with signs following.' When these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were removed, then came the Divine promise in the ordinary course of the fulfilment of the words of Christ, that He would be with His Church always, even unto the end of the world; that as to Jonadab, the son of Rechab, because of his obedience to his father's will, the promise was given that he should never lack a man to stand before God for ever—so to those who accepted to the full the burden of the Cross, and went forth to bear that Cross in the power of the Holy Spirit to all the nations of the then known world, the promise was given that they should never lack men who, in their place when they should be taken to their rest, should stand before God and do the work of Christ for ever. That, too, is a plenary promise. That is a promise which knows no exception. It was in that spirit and in that faith and in that power that St. Paul commissioned Timothy to deliver the Gospel which he had received from him, to faithful men who should be able to teach others also—five generations of the Christian Church comprised in two short verses of the Epistle to Timothy. It was in that strength and in that spirit that St. Paul directed Titus to go to Crete and to ordain him elders in every city. And who were those Cretans? Alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies; and yet those liars were to be the preachers of Gospel truth; those evil beasts were to lie down with the Lamb of God; out of those slow bellies were to flow forth rivers of living water.

"Never tell me, then, that there is a race upon the earth, out of which, by God's providence and by the gift of His Holy Spirit, there cannot be raised faithful Ministers, able to serve God in the holy offices of His Church. You have them here. All that has been said about the Red Indian and his wandering habits has never daunted the faith or daunted the courage of your Missionary Bishops who have gone forth among those races, there to gather men to serve God in the holy Ministry of His Church. It has been the same in Africa. It has risen there even to a higher grade. A poor boy, taken out of a slave-ship hold, trained in the schools of the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone and sent to England, there to be trained for the Ministry of the Church, has since returned to England to receive consecration as a Bishop of the Church, and gone back again to the heart of Africa, there to preach to his countrymen the unsearchable riches of Christ.

"The same is seen everywhere. India has its band of native Pastors. Ceylon has its like company of Preachers. New Zealand, out of a race never exceeding in number (men, women, and children) one hundred thousand souls, has yielded to Bishop Williams and myself seventeen ordained Missionaries, not one of whom—in the midst of troubles of war, in the midst of the relapse of many to heathenism—has ever swerved, either from his allegiance to the British crown, or from his faith in the Lord Jesus.

"I say, then, dear brethren, that there is no lack of men. God is able out of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. Only let us go forth to our work with a living faith—a wide, a world-wide faith—a faith resting upon a hope which enters into that which is behind the veil. Let us go forth in the name of the Lord of Hosts to bear the banner of the Cross—that banner which, you have heard, has been already planted in the most distant part of God's earth, in the Island of New Zealand. You in the intermediate space, you with your nine millions of square miles, you with your vast population increasing every decade by so many millions of souls—to you belongs the stewardship of undertaking the charge of the larger nations of the earth. You may have the blessed privilege of being the means under God's hand of carrying to the three hundred millions of idolaters in China, and the one hundred and seventy millions of idolaters in India, and to the untold multitudes, like the sands upon the sea-shore in number, who throng the vast plains of Central Africa, the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

The American Church determined that an event so unique should not pass away without its special commemoration: it was out of the question to make to the bishop any personal offering, and with exquisite taste, our brethren, whom our greatest statesman has since described in words too felicitous ever to be forgotten, as "our kin beyond seas," determined to make an offering to the Mother Church which, kept among the treasures and muniments and traditions of Lambeth, should be for all time a memorial of the love which they bore to their Mother Church. It took the form of a magnificent Alms

Dish.[1] With the same good taste which had prompted the gift, the offering was made in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the

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[1] The following description of the alms bason is given by an American paper :—

"In the centre is the hemisphere, showing the Atlantic Ocean, with the Old World on the east of it and the New World on the west. A scroll on the ocean bears the inscription, which expresses the spirit of the gift: '*Orbis veteri novus, occidens orienti, Filia Matri.*' At the South Pole is the date, 1871, of the Bishop's visit. In the upper part of the hemisphere is a circular chased medallion, which covers nearly the whole of Great Britain, and bears a ship typical of the Church, having the Cross at its prow, the Labarum on its sail, the Pastoral Staff of the Apostolic Episcopate at its mainmast, upheld by two ropes on either side for the other two orders of Priests and Deacons; and 'S.S.' on the rudder, for the 'Sacred Scriptures.' This ship is leaving England, and is headed towards the New World, indicating that our Church received its existence from the Catholic Church through the Church of England.

"Outside of this hemisphere is a band about an inch wide, with the names of the six undisputed General Councils of the ancient Church, separated from one another by six hemispheres of *lapis lazuli*. As the word 'Catholic' signifies 'all the world over,' so this band runs all around the globe.

"From this band, on the outside, spring twelve oak leaves, and between them are twelve twigs, each bearing three acorns with burnished kernels. This use of the English oak sets forth the English Church growing outwards, and carrying her Catholicity with her wherever she goes, in every direction. The *twelve* is the number of Apostolic fulness and perfection, and the *three* is reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. From behind the oak leaves and acorns spring alternate maple leaves and palmetto leaves, the former symbolizing the North, and the latter the South,—thus representing the historical truth that both parts of our American Church are the outgrowth of the Church of England.

"The rim bears the inscription, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' It begins and ends at a jewelled cross, composed of five amethysts, four topazes, eight pearls, and eight small garnets, all clustered within a circle, the cross itself thus forming a crown of glory. The words are divided by large stones, more than an inch in diameter. As they refer not to the faith, but to gifts, which are of infinite variety, no two are alike. They are all (with one exception) American stones, the one exception being a species of *praise* from New Zealand, which was found in a lapidary's shop in Philadelphia. As Bishop Selwyn has done more than any other one man to organize the system of the Colonial Episcopate, the piece of that New Zealand stone was secured, to be placed *first* in the series.

"Outside the inscription is a very bold cable moulding, the finish of which shows that it is a threefold cord, not easily broken. This means the three Orders of the Apostolic ministry; one strand being burnished bright to represent the Episcopate, the next under it having *twelve* cross threads representing the Priesthood, and the next below that having *seven* longitudinal threads, signifying the Diaconate, the original number of the deacons being seven. Outside this cable moulding, again, is a margin of leaves all growing outward, showing a vigorous outward growth of the Church all the world over.

"On the under side of the rim is a plain Latin inscription, more specioccasion of the Anniversary Service, on July 3, 1872, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to which Society the American Church always declares that, under God, it owes its existence. Bishop McIlwaine of Ohio and the Bishop of Lichfield, hand-in-hand, each holding it by one hand, and on bended knee, presented the offering to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The good taste which had marked the whole proceedings on the part of our American brethren was now to be equalled by ourselves, and it was under such influence that Bishop Selwyn on the following day, the famous 4th of July, the anniversary of the day on which the great American nation achieved that political freedom which immediately secured for it the ecclesiastical independence for which it had long struggled in vain, telegraphed to Bishop Potter, of New York—"July 4: Alms-bason presented in St. Paul's Cathedral. Independence is not dis-union." Truly did Bishop Potter observe, when publishing the message for the information of the Church—"It was a kindly and graceful impulse on their part to give such dignity to the reception of our offering of love, and to send us such a message on such a day. I am sure it will be warmly appreciated by all the members of our communion on this side of the water."

Another English prelate, only less esteemed (if it be so by our American brethren, because he has never visited their shores, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth), set forth in graceful verse the thanks of the

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fically detailing the circumstances of the occasion which called forth this gift from the American to the English Church. It runs thus:—

"'✠ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ matri, per manus Apostolicas reverendissimi Georgii Augusti Selwyn, Dei gratiâ Episcopi Lichfieldensis, pacis et benevolentiæ internuncii, ejusdemque auctoris, hoc pietatis testimonium filii Americani dederunt. ✠'

"On the case there is a circular silver plate; in the centre is a shield, bearing the Union Jack and the American arms quartered upon a Cross (shaded *gules*), and with a dove for a crest, whose rays of light and heat fill the circle. This means that the true unity of England and America is a spiritual unity in maintaining the doctrines of the Cross of Christ."

Mother Church for the pious offering. It will be seen that the description given in the note has been adopted in these scholarly lines :—

"Quod caræ mittis, carissima Filia, Matri
Accipimus sanctæ pignus amicitiæ.
Dat dextram veteri novu Orbis ; Nata Parenti ;
Miscet et Occiduum Sol Oriente jubar.
Pontus Atlantiaco quamvis interfluat æstu,
Littora velivolis consociantur aquis ;
Ecce ! Ratis Christi medium translabitur æquor,
Alba ferunt Labarum carbasa ; prora Crucem.

Funis Apostolico fultum gestamine malum
Ordinibus binis junctus utrinque tenet ;
Navem per scopulos Oracula Sancta gubernant ;
Sic tutam sulcat per maris arva viam ;
Angliacos linquit portus ferturque Carina
Americæ placido suscipienda sinu.

Aspice ! qua medium lancis complectitur orbem
Mystica cælatis clara corona notis !
Nomina senarum Synodorum pristina cerno,
Quæ fixam placitis explicuere fidem.
Germinat hæc circum quercu diadema Britannâ ;
Donaque fert Trino frons duodena Deo ;
Multicolore nitent diversæ lumine gemmæ,
Undique sic radians lucet Amore Fides.
Crux zonam gemmata aperitque et claudit ; Amoris
Nam Crux principium est, Crux quoque finis erit.

Fraternis veluti triplex amplexibus orbis,
Cuncta Ministerium cingit Apostolicum :
Denique ut externo diffusæ in margine frondes,
Sic Christi vitis tendit in omne solum.

Ergo Te Genitrix, carissima Nata, salutat,
Et pia de grato pectore vota refert :
Pacis in æterno constringat fœdere cord
Cordibus Angliacis Americana Deus !
Una fides, unus CHRISTUS, nos SPIRITUS unus,
Unus et Ipse Suo jungat amore PATER !
Sic, ubi transierint mortalia sæcula. Cæli
Nos una accipiat non peritura Domus !"

In the Advent of this year [1871] there came on the whole Church of England the shock of the news of the murder of Bishop Patteson. Persons who had scoffed at Missions before now began to think that there must be something in them to attract men of high gifts and bright prospects to arduous toil and danger, and death. The enmity of the Press against all self-sacrifice, and especially against this particular form of it, had of late reached its height. Missions seemed to be the butt toward which every anonymous scribe, dipping his pen in venom, might direct his depreciating sneer, and the people loved to have it so. Even in the House of Lords missionaries had been described by a duke as of necessity either impostors or fanatics. From the date of the martyrdom of John Coleridge Patteson a distinctly marked change is visible in the public estimate of the work to which he had given his life. Public opinion has changed, although no formal confession of past error has been made; and the nameless folk, who claim to educate it, here, as always, have followed it. They do not season their wares now with the ever facile scoff at Missions because there is no general demand for literature of that kind. Such a life and such a death taught to many men a lesson which they would have learned in no other way: it threw us back on first principles, and the next Advent found the Church setting apart the first of those now annual days of Intercession for Missions which have secured for them something like an adequate position in the scale of Christian duties.

To the Bishop of Lichfield the news was as though it had told him of the death of his own son; he seemed to all to have suddenly become ten years older; it was not for the personal loss of one so dear; for this he could thank God, as he did, with voice trembling with emotion, when in the prayer for the Church militant he added after the words "for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear," "especially for John Coleridge Patteson": but there was the loss, apparently irreparable to the Mission, for who could fill the vacant place, who supply the Mezzofanti-like gifts of him who had been removed?

Lichfield was rapidly becoming the centre of missionary activity, and the point to which labourers in foreign fields looked with the knowledge that there was one there who could give them advice such as no other living man could give, for no other man had had the like experience. When the diocese of Barbados found itself, not only without a bishop, but with no means of securing a successor to Bishop Parry, the Island of Trinidad, not disheartened by the disestablishment which had come upon it, but spurred by that circumstance to look no more to the fickle support of the State but to help itself, turned to the diocese and Bishop of Lichfield for help, and the Vicar of Tamworth was selected, and by the consent of the Archbishop was consecrated in the cathedral of his own diocese. It was a great and probably unprecedented event: London and Canterbury were now no longer the only places where missionary bishops received their mission, and in the Diocesan Calendars each year the connection of Lichfield with those bishops who had been at any time beneficed within its limits was recorded, viz., the Bishops of Sierra Leone, Auckland, Trinidad, Dunedin, and Argyll.

It was partly the attraction of the man himself, partly the fact of his having visited the American Churches in 1871, that led the Canadian Bishops to entrust to the Bishop of Lichfield their memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury praying his grace, (1) "to undertake an office, by whatever name it may be called, equivalent to that of Patriarch in the ancient Church; (2) to convene a General Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion to carry on the work begun by the Lambeth Conference in 1867." The memorial was presented to the Upper House of the Southern Convocation, 1873, and afforded the Bishop of Lichfield an occasion for delivering a remarkable speech, fresh and unconventional, but aiming at nothing save the adaptation of ancient principles to new circumstances. After some introductory remarks he said:—

"Your grace is well aware that the whole foundation upon which our Colonial Church for a time seemed to rest has been taken away from her—I mean the Letters Patent issued by the Crown, which gave a sort of jurisdiction to the colonial bishops. The number of colonial bishops in the meantime has greatly increased from a very small number; I think there were only nine when I was first consecrated a colonial bishop, and there are now some fifty-two or fifty-three. These bishops are, with very few exceptions indeed, absolutely without any means of ascertaining by what laws or principles they are governed, unless by their own voluntary compact, as in Adelaide, Capetown, lately in Sydney, and in New Zealand, where they have formed a compact by which they have laid down rules and regulations for their own government. That course has received of late the full acquiescence and approval of her Majesty's Government. The Privy Council has decided that the well-known case of "Warren *v.* the Wesleyan Society" rules all the decisions of the Privy Council in cases affecting the colonial bishops. And their decision is expressed in the simple words that the Church in the colonies is in the same position, neither better nor worse, than any other religious denomination; that it has the power of framing regulations for its own conduct, and of determining what shall be the penalty for a breach of those regulations. That principle was laid down by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst in the case of "Warren *v.* the Wesleyan Society," and has now been declared by a judicial decision of the Privy Council to be applicable to all the colonial churches. Then comes the great difficulty, which, of course, presses on the minds of all those who love the Church of England, and desire to see her unity maintained—namely, how shall all these various bodies, constantly occupied year after year in making laws for their own government, be in any degree restrained from dropping away from the centre. What, in point of fact, is to be the centripetal force by which the centrifugal force is to be restrained? I have seen the Church in Canada, in the United States, in New Zealand, and in Australia, and among all these branches of the Church, comprising the dioceses of seventy or eighty bishops, there is at the present moment, eminently in the Episcopal Church of the United States, an earnest desire to be united in brotherhood with the Church of England. There is in all cases an earnest desire to recognise the Archbishop of Canterbury as the head of this great confederation of the Anglican communion. Your grace is well aware that so long as Letters Patent remained in force there was in most of those Letters Patent, and probably in all, a provision that the bishop, when consecrated, should take an oath of allegiance to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and should be subject to the general supervision of the Archbishop. That very small hold which the See of Canterbury had over the various Colonial Churches has now been almost entirely removed by the abolition of Letters Patent. Not a word is said about it in the mandates, and by far the greater proportion of the bishops now consecrated are consecrated in the colonies themselves. Canada seldom sends to us to consecrate a bishop, and there is a general desire among the clergy of the colonies that the consecration should be carried out among themselves. In New Zealand three or four consecrations have already taken place, and it rests entirely upon the feeling of the people there whether any oath of allegiance or canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be taken or not. Even if there be an oath, there is no definition of what the canonical obedience is to be. Canonical obedience in the case of the clergy has been construed to mean obedience to such edicts as the bishops can enforce by law. If the principle of canonical obedience as regards the obligation of the clergy to the bishops be such, then I think it also follows that the obedience of the bishops to the Metropolitan or the Archbishop is liable to the same interpretation—that is, that it is an obedience to such edicts as the Archbishop can enforce by law. I come, then, to the fact that, to my knowledge, there is no existing law by which a bishop in any colony in the British Empire can in any way be compelled to obey the admonitions and commands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Feeling that it is desirable that all these questions should be settled; that with our Colonial Episcopate extending its operations and adding to them every year; that the increase of the Colonial Episcopate has been almost two every year since my consecration,—it does seem vital to the interest of the Colonial Church, and, above all, to the continued unity between ourselves and the branches of the Church of England, that we should come to some understanding upon the subject. I may add as a circumstance very strongly in favour of what I am bringing before you, that the Irish Church is at the present moment without any recognised connection with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and is in danger of suffering from that centrifugal force to which I have adverted just now. It does, then, seem to me, with all these desirable objects before us, that we are bound to endeavour, for the good of all the Churches of the Anglican communion, to lay down a broad and deep foundation on which all these Churches shall be built up. How, then, is it to be done without some comprehensive consideration of the whole question? What is the best mode in which all the Churches of the Anglican communion shall be confederated together? is the serious question we have to consider. The first thing, I think, is that we should have a head, and that the Colonial Churches must be united to that head, not by law, but by voluntary compact. Of course, it is quite impossible that there should be any law that would touch the Churches of the United States. It is nearly equally impossible that we should have a law that will touch the Churches in the Colonies which have a free constitution of their own. It reduces itself, then, to this: there is at the present time an earnest desire on the part of all branches of the Anglican communion to recognise His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury by voluntary compact. He is the head of this confederation, and of this great body of 150 bishops: he may construct a system by the advice of the members of these various Churches which will regulate all these points, which are at the present moment without any regulation at all. That relates chiefly to the question whether it might not be desirable, after the subject has been thoroughly considered by a joint committee of both houses, to draw up some document which may be circulated among all branches of the Anglican communion, so as to take the sense of all the different Churches upon this point—whether it is not advisable in some way or other, and under whatever name may be thought best, to accept the Archbishop of Canterbury as the head of this great Christian association? The question then arises, what shall be the authority or the nature of the constituent assembly by which this shall be recognised? The Canadian memorial, I think, supplies an answer to that question: the Canadian bishops, under the late Bishop of Montreal, and at the instance of the Bishop of Ontario, were the first to move Archbishop Longley to convene the Lambeth Conference. Looking to the beneficial effects which followed that meeting of the bishops of Anglican Christendom, it is a matter for consideration whether it may not be desirable to invite his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to convene another meeting of that body, at which all these great questions might be discussed, and I hope much more fully than at the Lambeth Conference. My second proposal therefore is, that, in accordance with the petition of the bishops of the Anglican province of Canada, his Grace the Archbishop be requested to convene a General Council of the Bishops of the Anglican communion to carry on the work begun by the Lambeth Conference in 1867. What follows in these resolutions is of the nature of detail. It seems to be expedient that the proposed General Council should be held in the year 1875. That is, because it so happens that the various meetings of the Anglican communion in the provinces of Canada and the United States happen to fall in 1874. If our propositions be accepted and sent out to them, this will give them full opportunity of considering the question in all its bearings. The materials of full inquiry are supplied by the Reports of the Committees laid on the table at the adjourned meeting of the Lambeth Conference. The adjourned meeting was limited to one day, and it is quite evident that there was no time to consider those reports in the proper manner. The result was, that the reports were simply received and read, and there they remained—the most valuable documents that could be possibly put forth in the interests of Colonial Christendom—without any practical result. My fourth proposition therefore is—'That the reports presented at the adjourned session of the Lambeth Conference be taken into consideration by the proposed General Conference of the Anglican Communion.'

"Before I leave the subject I hope to be able to impress on my brethren the vast importance of this subject. There is perhaps no person who ought to speak so feelingly on the subject as myself. We are sitting here comparatively at ease. We have laws which, however imperfect, serve us for a guide; but the Colonial Churches look to us to supply them, not with a complete system, for in some respects their system is as complete as our own, but with a system that would prevent them from diverging widely from the Mother Church. This is what the Colonial Church and the American Church desire. The same feeling of affection exists now in the American Church as in bygone years. When forty-seven bishops met in Baltimore the year before last there was but one feeling of thankfulness for the benefits they received from the formularies of the Church. Many regretted that in those early times they had departed more than they would now wish from these formularies. Many of them would gladly come back to the adoption of the English Prayer-book. The senior presiding bishop in the United States—Bishop Smith, the Bishop of Kentucky—stated to me as distinctly as possible, that it was his earnest desire his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury should, whether under the name of Patriarch or otherwise, convene a Decennial Council of all the Bishops of the American Church, and that the deliberations of that Council should be limited chiefly to questions of doctrine. From this you will see that this aged man believed that, if we could meet together, a great link of union would be formed between the United States and the Church of England, by which we could solemnly declare the Prayer-book to be the property of all the Church, and that we would not allow one particle to be altered without the consent of the whole Anglican communion. All the branches of our Church earnestly desire that some means should be devised by which they may all be more closely united in an organized system of fraternal love with the Church of England. It is for us to give them that opportunity. How are they to obtain that bond of union for themselves? No one single branch of the Church could come to us and say—'Accept us in some closer union with yourselves.' It must be done in some way similar to that which was begun by Archbishop Longley, by calling together all the Bishops of the Anglican Church, and if that be done, then I think we shall see that the Church will expand itself in all parts of the world. I hope that this matter will receive the attention which I am quite certain that it deserves. I will only add one further testimony—the testimony of Bishop Barker, the Metropolitan of Sydney, who long clung to the idea, and was supported by the judgment of the Master of the

Rolls, that the Church of the Colonies still had some legal connection with the Church of the mother country. When he came to England last year that opinion was entirely dispelled. To show his earnest desire for union with the Church of England, he went to all the members of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council to invite them separately to form a voluntary spiritual tribunal of appeal on questions of doctrine, for the express purpose of restraining the Church in his own province from those divisions on the English standard of doctrine, which he believed would tend to separation. From all parts of the Anglican Church we have the same testimony, and I may give a strong illustration from one of those small dioceses which have not yet been formed into provinces. The legislature of the island of Barbados have voted an income of 1,000*l.* a-year to the Bishop of Barbados, but in the Act by which this income is allotted to the bishop there is this provision, that if by an address of the two Houses of the Legislature of Barbados the bishop shall be found guilty of any breach of discipline or error of doctrine, it shall be competent for the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being to try the bishop, and, on sufficient cause being shown, to depose him from his office. The Barbadian Legislature pledges itself in that event to deprive him of his position and his income. It may be right, if the Bishop of Barbados should offend, that he should be tried by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but it is also right that the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being should have a form of procedure applicable to such cases. There ought to be laid down, by a conference of all the bishops of the Anglican communion, a form of procedure for the trial of a bishop. I give this instance of the Barbadian Legislature as coming from one of the smallest unattached dioceses which has not yet been formed into a province.

"I have now gone through all these various dioceses, and I hope have shown that in all there is an earnest desire that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be the recognised head of this confederation, and that he should have, for the purpose of providing a system to meet all the wants of those provinces, a Council with defined legislative functions. I beg, in conclusion, to move these resolutions."

Of Missionary work, whether at home or abroad, the bishop determined to bring the claims before his people both forcibly and systematically. The Cathedral was to be made the centre of this, as of all other diocesan works. Of the triennial cycle of diocesan gatherings held each summer in the cathedral one was the Choral, the second the Home, and the third the Foreign Missionary Festival.

In the working of Missions to the careless and the heathen at home, he recognised the necessity of a special agency, although, as a principle, he was strongly of opinion that a parish priest should never transfer to others his pastoral charge. But he admitted the wisdom of organizing a system "under which all those persons to whom God has given the power of moving the hearts of other men—a power given only to a few—should so entirely possess the confidence of the diocese and the clergy, that they should be able acceptably, at stated times, to preach a course of sermons, to be followed up by practical oral instruction, which should have the effect of teaching the whole mass of darkness and ignorance which lies around." In fact, he desired to substitute for the present custom, by which a parochial clergyman calls to his aid some brother who has become known as a striking "Mission preacher," a system "under which they might have diocesan preachers acting under the bishop, whose office it should be to go to the dark places of the diocese where ignorance was most deep, there to exercise those vivifying influences in stirring up feelings for good which they had known to be so beneficial in many places. If this were done, he believed that they could find men who were not party men, but who simply desired to win souls for Christ, and whose exhortations might be followed by teaching of a more special character, for they all agreed that the preaching of the Gospel in public, by whatever name, must be followed up by some kind of oral communication with the people whose hearts had been touched."

There had been established within the diocese of Lichfield a community of clergymen whose aim it was to devote themselves to evangelistic work among the ignorant masses of the Black Country. Such an organization was not quite the kind of machinery which the bishop had designed, but, as he frequently said, he had learned "to be content with the second best scheme when he could not obtain the first." He had been asked to recognise in some way this community and its work, and in the most practical way he proposed to its founder an alliance, more or less intimate, with the Diocesan Missionary body. The correspondence lasted over several years, and is here given in a summary form:—

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Dec.* 15*th*, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. ——

A meeting of the "long Chapter" Bishop, Dean, Canons, and Prebendaries, is convened for the 30th inst., to consider whether the Cathedral may not be made as of old, the centre of evangelical influence and light to the dark places in the diocese. One of the questions to be brought before us, is whether provision can be made whereby a body of fit men can be maintained independently of parochial cures, as conductors of special missions, having their centre and if possible their home at the Cathedral city?

Strange to say, on one and the same day, I had a visit from Mr. Body, a letter from Mr. Luke Rivington, and a printed letter of Mr. Ryle to the *Record*, advocating the establishment "of an order of evangelists," to be under the directions of the bishop and his council. My mind was naturally recalled to my conversation with you. I write now to express my hope that you and your friends may have some definite proposal to lay before our meeting on the 30th.

Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

To the same correspondent he wrote at a later date, in the following terms:

You know already how gladly I shall welcome the assistance of such a brotherhood as yours; and endeavour to

> incorporate it with the diocesan system, upon the recognition of obedience to the diocesan authority. I wish your body to be so entirely clear of all doubt and suspicion, as to be accepted by every parochial clergyman. This may be best brought about, by the submission to such a rule as will convince all, that you desire nothing more than to carry out the principles of the Church of England, and to carry her teaching to the hearts of the multitudes of people who throng this diocese.

On another occasion he wrote to acknowledge a scheme for the brotherhood, which offered to the bishop the position of visitor:—

> I have read with great care and interest your plan for an order or brotherhood of preachers. My earnest desire and endeavour will be to assist and guide you as much as possible, as a "helper of your joy," rather than as "having dominion over your faith." Some time must elapse before you could have any such legal status as would call for the action of a legal "visitor." I would rather act at first as a friendly referee in a pastoral rather than an official character.
>
> If you were to be the head, I should have very little fear of disagreement. But my nature is always to hope rather than to fear, and thereupon I look forward to working with you in the unity of the Spirit.

After conference and correspondence extending over nearly a year, a declaration was submitted to the bishop, which was approved, but it was further suggested that it would be well to define more precisely the principle of obedience, that "(1) Obedience should be to a common rule approved by the bishop of the diocese. (2) That doubts arising from the application of that rule should be referred to the bishop. (3) That the external works of the brotherhood should be carried on with his sanction and approval." This was assented to, and on S. Barnabas Day, 1874, the bishop wrote to the Superior:

Your letter this morning was a sight for S. Barnabas, a real comfort, to learn that you have returned safe and well, for which I heartily thank God.

I have just been thinking to whom I should address a letter to invite one of your community to give us a short address at the Garden Meeting at the Home Mission Festival on Tuesday, the 20th, on the subject of Parochial Missions. If you are strong enough to give us ten minutes, of course I would rather have you than any other member of the body. We shall be glad to see some others of the brotherhood to testify by their presence to the unity of the diocesan system.

At a later date when the bishop had expressed a wish for a change in the title-page of a little book which the Superior had compiled, and his wish had been at once assented to, the bishop wrote:

Your letter has filled me with joy and thankfulness; our Church will prove itself to be truly catholic when the primitive spirit of obedience is thus added to all other Christian graces.

A few months before his death the bishop formally accepted the office of visitor, and transacted business for the Society in that capacity. He was accustomed to receive the profession of the brethren, and, according to his own wish, his sanction was necessary for the retirement of any member; he was anxious that a dispensing power should be secured outside the Society, and that it should be in the bishop. Both in public and in private kindly sympathy was frequently expressed and always was given, whether by letters or in conversation, when the visitor's advice was sought.

Among his schemes for the home mission work of his diocese were the clergy house in Lichfield Close, and the Barge Mission. Surely it was no mean part of the home mission work which provided for the deficiencies of aged and disabled incumbents by sending to them help from an associated body of diocesan curates, domiciled under one roof in the close. This 'Ramah' was but an adoption of the plan commenced at the Waimate, whereby the diocesan deacons were available for services in the adjacent villages, but plans cannot be carried into execution in England with the rapidity that is possible in a young Church. The house was not obtained until 1877, and much care and forethought were bestowed on its adaptation and furnishing; but at the date of the bishop's death no suitable agents had been found, and the fund of 6000*l.* which had been the offering of a friend to the bishop has passed to his successor, under trust to apply the interest according to his discretion for the relief of incumbents under temporary disability. The house which the bishop had designed for this purpose will now be the home of his widow.

The Barge Mission was another scheme which the bishop's death left incomplete: the canal population being always nomadic and amphibious, if not aquatic, had fallen through the meshes of the parochial system and were living in squalor and heathenism. For these it was evident that special machinery must be provided. In 1877 the bishop appointed a Barge Mission chaplain who endeavoured to collect the bargemen for worship at their landing-places: every spare Sunday the bishop gave up to this work, so congenial with his spirit: but he saw that to really influence the canal population a canal floating church must be provided, and he built a diocesan barge which should move about freely, and in which he determined himself to navigate the grimy waters of the Midland canals with the same cheerful devotion which had carried him over the laughing waves of the South Pacific. He intended that the barge should accommodate a congregation of forty or fifty, "and if" he said to the members of the Diocesan Conference "we should be so happy as to gather together a larger number, we have the highest authority for assembling the people on the bank and teaching them from the ship." But when the barge was built it was found that conditions which had never affected the *Undine*, now opposed a troublesome barrier there was not sufficient sea-room: in other words, the bridges were not of an uniform gauge, and through some of them the barge could not pass, and alterations had to be made which involved much cost, skill, and superintendence, and when the great calamity came in April 1878, the barge was not in working order.

It was not likely that Foreign Missions would hold a second place in the sympathy and love of so great a missionary. He found that about two-thirds of the parishes in his diocese did nothing for missionary work abroad, and he declared that "if a clergyman would only preach a sermon which produced twopence or threepence, this would show that he had the matter at heart; but if the whole subject was to be left entirely out of sight in our churches—never preached about from the pulpit nor urged upon the people—they could hardly call themselves a living branch of the Church of God."

There was no lack of example wherewith to support the bishop's exhortations, for in the end of 1873 his younger son, who had been, in the interests of parochial peace, placed at S. George's, Wolverhampton, offered himself for work in Melanesia, and in the early spring of the following year left England with his father's blessing for the work of which he is now the head.

In 1874 the bishop again visited America, and accompanied by several of his clergy, attended the General Convention of the Church of the United States which was held in New York. On this occasion he saw more of the Canadian Church than he had been able to do in 1871. He seemed to recognise the greater necessity of cementing our union with distant churches in proportion as we were rent asunder by party cries at home, and at the Lichfield Conference he uttered these weighty words:—

"The Church of England has its own special mission. The duty of the Anglican Church is to approach as nearly as possible to the standard of the Primitive Church, holding fast all Catholic doctrine and all essential points of Christian worship, but claiming and exercising the power to ordain rites and ceremonies as a particular and national Church. Let us have a standard of our own—an Anglican standard—admitting as much flexibility and variety as the Church itself may direct for the good of the souls of her people,—Cathedrals, parishes rich and poor, in town and country, missions at home and abroad, special services for every especial need, each (like the various sections of a mighty army) having its distinctive uniform and its own drill, but all alike 'under authority.' I go this autumn to the Synod of Canada and to the Convention of Bishops in the United States. What message shall I take to them? Shall I tell them that as a united diocese we greet them in the name of the Lord, who would have all men to be one? Shall I tell them we are all—men in authority and men under authority,—Bishop, Clergy, Laity, subject one to another in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace, and that we pray for them (as we pray for ourselves) that that outpouring of the Holy Ghost which, like the oil upon the waves, calmed down the troubled sea of human passions in the Apostolic Church, may unite us all in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity?"

Landing at S. John's, Newfoundland, the party were disappointed to find that Bishop Feild had started for the Labrador; thence they went to Halifax and Montreal; at the latter city they attended the Provincial Synod of Canada. The bishop spoke of himself as the representative of Church Missions, anxious to see the Synod in session, and to extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and so far as lay in his power to preserve the unity of the English Church. Westward still the bishop and his party went, staying at Toronto, London, Ottawa, where the Governor-General being away from the city requested the Bishop of Ontario to occupy Government House and act the part of host to the Bishop of Lichfield, on to Minnesota, where that apostolic man Bishop Whipple entertained a kindred soul and introduced his English brother to all his missionary institutions; on again to Nebraska, where a journey of 1,500 miles toward the setting sun was completed. Hurrying eastward again they reached Fredericton in order to accept Bishop Medley's invitation before the assembling of the General Convention on October 7. Here they saw the most complete Cathedral Church which they had met with in America: one of the bishop's companions wrote, "I never saw the English Church both in its externals and in its ritual more pleasantly transplanted to a foreign home," and the Bishop of Fredericton has kindly given his reminiscences of the pleasant meeting in the following words:—

"Our dear Bishop Selwyn, in October, 1874, travelled seven days and nights without intermission, to fulfil a promise that he would pay us a visit in Fredericton.

"Notwithstanding the fatigue of so long a journey, he preached twice in the cathedral, to the great delight of all who heard him, and gave us a most interesting account of the life and labours of Bishop Patteson. He also addressed the scholars of our Sunday School in the afternoon, and so impressed them, that of their own accord some of them said, 'We must contribute to educate a Melanesian boy in Norfolk Island.' This they have done for three years. Our first poor little fellow died, and we now subscribe to a second. The bishop left us on another long journey to New York the following day; and as long as life is spared, we shall never forget his visit."

The sermon on the opening day of the General Convention, was preached by the Bishop of Lichfield, the text being Isaiah lxvi. 8, 10, 12. The Bishops of Kingston, Montreal, and Quebec were also present. At the close of the Convention, the great missionary meeting of the American Church was held, and the Bishop of Lichfield's address was, as in 1871, the chief point of interest. He had now seen something of the work of the American

Church among the heathen, and he urged the "good comfortable rectors," the most eloquent men in the city of New York, to put themselves in the forefront of the battle in the far West; and then, lest this should seem to be mere *badinage*, he added :—

> "Of course, dear friends, I would not dare to say these things if I was not ready to put myself at the head, or at all events, to go in company with you; but old as I am, and partially unfit for the work, there is nothing I should like better, if I were not charged with a diocese of a million or more of souls, than to go out with a good, earnest deputation of good Rectors of New York and all the cities in Northern America, and have a thorough good raid, without arms, without ammunition, without rations, and without anything else but the simple preaching of the Gospel, taking care, of course, to learn the language beforehand, because it is that which keeps us back from many of these Indians. Just as I could hardly find a single man who had crossed the Atlantic from England, though so many cross it from this side, so I hardly ever meet a man that does not talk about the difficulty of learning languages. The difficulty is in setting about it. Do you suppose Bishop Patteson acquired a knowledge of twenty languages, so as to be able to converse in all of them, without some effort? You may talk about natural gifts and the facilities for acquiring languages; but the real natural gift is to have in your heart a determination that you will do what is necessary to be done, that you will learn what is necessary to be learned, that you will give up everything that is necessary to be given up, and that you will go forth. Talk not of a missionary's self-denial. It is the very thing that men are doing for evil purposes. All those men who are supposed to be necessary to coerce the Indians, all those generals and soldiers who are now following up the Indians with fire and sword, are submitting to privations and incurring risks greater a great deal than any which missionaries are likely to have to undertake."

The bishop took the opportunity of meeting objectors, if objectors there were, to the scheme of organic union between the mother and daughter Churches, and showed that it was an union only for aggressive purposes and for economy of power in such aggression. This principle was recognised in the Lambeth Conference of 1878, which declared against duplicate organization of the Churches in the same place or Mission. The Bishop said:—

"You have heard, perhaps, that in the General Convention there has been a talk about what was meant by proposing that the Church in the United States should be organically united with the Church in England. What I meant by it is this; that we should have a larger front to go forth into the realms of Satan—a larger power to make aggression upon heathenism; that we should do it as an united Church; that there should be no distinction between a clergyman in the United States and a clergyman in England. I do not want to interfere, and the Archbishop of Canterbury does not want to interfere, with your canons or your rules of order. You may alter them again and again as much as you like. But what I say is, let us be united in heart upon this one point—that here is a great nation, thirty millions in England, fifty millions in the United States, all of them speaking the same language, all of them reading the same Bible, all the subjects of the same promises, all looking forward to the same account which we must give before the Judgment-seat of Christ. This great stewardship, then, of the whole world is at this present moment, I believe, committed to our Anglo-Saxon race. If it be not committed to us, I ask to whom is it committed? Has the stewardship of souls, as a duty binding upon mankind, ceased to exist? Spain had it once. Spain neglected it. Spain has lost it. France had it once. Portugal had it once. There is no nation now that can be put in comparison for one single moment as a real effective missionary power upon the earth to our own English-speaking race.

"You have heard about the increase of population here. Now, it is perfectly appalling to think of what the population of this country may become. If you set to work and calculate the seven millions of square miles that there are in the territory of the United States, you will find that by the time the territory of the United States shall have been as thickly peopled as the territory of England, it will contain more than the whole present number of the human race; that is, that if it please God to move the heart of this great nation to a sense of its true, its highest responsibility, there may be within a given time the whole number of the human race actually professing Christianity within the limits of the United States, and able upon equal terms, man for man, to do battle with the other remaining unconverted portion of the human race scattered over India and China and Africa, and all these other smaller countries which yet remain in heathen darkness. Now is not that an adequate object for a nation like this? Is not that a reason why England should be united with her daughter-country in America? Is not that a reason why the Church in America should be united as with one heart and with one soul, with the Church in England? Is not that a reason why bishops should go forth sometimes like Bishop Mackenzie from England to die in Africa; sometimes like Bishop Auer from America to die in Africa; sometimes like Bishop Patteson to die in Melanesia, and by their deaths to serve Christ as effectually as by their lives, by setting forth an example of Christian self-denial, of duties performed at the hazard of life? All these qualities of a Christian missionary stir up the hearts of all real believers in Christ as effectually as the deeds of heroism that are done in war by our soldiers and sailors stir up the hearts of our young men to go and do likewise."

The presiding bishop said: "The only unpleasant part of this meeting is that this is the last time on his present visit that we shall see the face of our beloved brother of Lichfield. To-morrow he leaves for his home. May God bless him and take him in safety to his home with a sweet recollection that he has not laboured in vain!" The benediction was given by Bishop Selwyn, and the crowded room was slowly emptied, all seeming to be unwilling to depart.

The warm hearts of American Churchmen were not content to allow the visit of the bishop to go without a substantial record, and as the visit of 1871 was commemorated by the alms-dish, so now they provided a capital sum of £200 for the foundation of a "Potter-Selwyn Prize," in Lichfield Theological College.

The cordiality of this meeting had been increased by the appropriate action of the Bishop of Chichester sending a telegram from the Brighton Church Congress, whose sitting synchronised with that of the Convention, inviting the American bishops to attend the Congress of 1875, which would be held at Stoke-upon-Trent, and which under the presidency of Bishop Selwyn was held for "four days without a word of bitterness or strife." In 1878 the bishop and the dean and chapter had invited all the bishops who came to England to rest awhile at Lichfield and worship with them under the roof of S. Chad, but those who visited that ancient city went as pilgrims to the grave of the honoured dead rather than as guests of his survivors.

In 1877 a service, such as no cathedral ever before witnessed, was held in Lichfield. The General Synod of New Zealand had elected the Rev. John Richardson Selwyn to succeed to Bishop Patteson's vacant chair. The consecration took place at Nelson, 8,000 miles in a direct line beneath our feet, on February 18; and at 11 o'clock P.M., the hour which accorded with that fixed for the consecration at the Antipodes, a simultaneous service was held at Lichfield. The thoughts suggested both contrast and unity. While to the brilliantly-lighted cathedral the congregation had come through the bitter cold of a winter's night, into the simple church at Nelson, in which the service was held, the floods of noonday sunshine were pouring, and all around the ripened corn was waving in the fresh sea breeze; but the prayers that came from hearts separated by half the globe met before the Throne, and the glorious chant that went up from Lichfield Cathedral and the prayers offered in many English homes that night were joined with the intercessions of the far-away congregations of New Zealand.

The bishop himself conducted the service at Lichfield and gave from the lectern an address which will never be forgotten by those who heard it.

"Such an occasion," he said, "is better suited for deep feeling than for much speaking. We know that the great Intercessor is always praying for the Church, 'Give Me the heathen for Mine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for My possession;' and that His prayer is ever receiving its fulfilment. So far, indeed, has our own Church been blessed, that it may be said with perfect truth to be now offering up all round the globe a ceaseless and continuous sacrifice of praise in the words of the English Prayer-book—day telling day and night passing on the happy service, as the world rolls round. Thus are our thoughts widened and emancipated from insular prejudice and insular pride. And now, while humbly thanking God for His servant lately departed this life, Bishop Patteson, let us also pray devoutly that the work of that good man may never perish, and that he may never lack a worthy successor. Your coming here to-night shows me that you are all prepared to offer up your prayers for my own dear son, known personally to many of you, and a clergyman ordained in your own diocese. May he be given boldness and prudence. May he be saved from the perils of presumption; lest, as a novice, he be too much puffed up. Changed from his earlier destination by the advice of Bishop Patteson, may he be blessed in carrying on the same work, to which he seems to be called. And as we have already sent forth from this diocese Bishop Rawle to the West Indies, so let us now send forth our own dear son, to take the Gospel, not to a numerous, but to a widely scattered race, in whom the curse of Babel seems to have reached its utmost climax. These are the isles that wait for Christ; and assuredly they will not wait in vain."

The Nicene Creed was then sung; and after a short space for silent prayer, a litany, and another hymn, the congregation were dismissed by the bishop with his benediction.

In May of the same year the bishop received a signal mark of royal favour; the Order of S. Michael and S. George was reorganized, and the office of prelate and chancellor, which had last been held by the Archbishop of Corfu, was conferred on him. As the order is limited to persons who have served in the colonies, it was obviously impossible to have conferred the office on any other person; but it is to be hoped that the action of the Crown in the case of Bishop Selwyn will not form a precedent by which the decoration of the order shall be added to the rewards of bishops who have resigned their sees; as there are no duties attached, the honour might well be bestowed on successive prelates in recognition of long service, not abandoned, in the colony to which the Church had sent them. The terms in which on this occasion the offer was made and was accepted were alike honourable to both parties.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *May 17th*, 1877.

MY DEAR LORD,

The order of S. Michael and S. George—appropriated as you are aware to Colonial services and claims—is about to receive an enlargement and in some respects a reorganization. The offices of Chancellor and Prelate to the Order are to be revived, and I am now commanded by the Queen to say that Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the office of Prelate upon you. I hope that the appointment, which will involve none but purely honorary duties, will be as agreeable to you as it is pleasant to me to be the medium of communication. It is the recognition of long and great services rendered to the Church in the Colonies, and will I feel sure be very welcome to those who have known and respected you as much as

Yours very truly,

CARNARVON.

PALACE, LICHFIELD, *May 20th*, 1877.

MY DEAR LORD,

May I request your Lordship to present to Her Majesty my most humble and dutiful thanks for the honour conferred upon me in the appointment to the office of Prelate to the order of S. Michael and S. George. My own period of Colonial service has come to an end; but I am thankful to have a son, who, by God's help, may carry on the same work of uniting the Colonies of Australia and New Zealand with the native races of the Western Pacific, in faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in allegiance to the British Crown. Allow me also to thank you most heartily for the personal kindness of your communication.

I remain, with many thanks,
Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

The fourth Diocesan Conference which was held at Lichfield in September 1877, possessed an interest at the time and for its own sake, which subsequent events have intensified. With a feeling almost prophetic the bishop dwelt on the many changes, caused chiefly by death, which had happened in the diocese; and these changes not only warned each member to "work the works of Him that sent" him and to "set his house in order," but also pointed to the need of fixed principles on which work should be securely built up. "As short-lived men who know that we must soon die, we learn the value of institutions which may last for ever." He insisted with more than his ordinary vigour on the subdivision of dioceses as the first means of remedying evils and promoting efficiency in the Church: he declared it to be 'most unreasonable' that Lichfield should contain a population of 1,356,000, and the neighbouring diocese of Hereford should have only 237,000: Church activity, subdivision of parishes, multiplication of churches, the ecclesiastical commissioners and Church societies giving grants for the maintenance of additional curates, only gave prominence to the question, 'Where are the men?' "I say at once," the Bishop added, "we shall never have a supply of men adequate to the present demands of the Church, unless we so divide our dioceses as to enable our bishops to take a large and personal share in the education of their clergy. It may safely be predicted that all these differences, real or supposed, between the bishops and their clergy, will cease to exist when the young men are trained up under the eyes of their spiritual fathers, as Saul at the feet of Gamaliel. As in parishes, so in dioceses, the work is apt to become formal and unreal when the numbers of the flock are in excess of the pastoral power. And surely this is the case when thirty-five deacons and as many priests have to be ordained annually, not to supply the needs but merely to stop the gaps in the present diocese of Lichfield. So also of confirmations. If all were ours 25,000 might be confirmed annually. As it is, at least 15,000 ought to be confirmed. Nine thousand *are* confirmed. If it were not for the help of my dear friends the coadjutor bishops, even the lowest number would be too great for a work like confirmation, which requires to be done with the fervour and freshness of pastoral love."

For the supply of a clergy, in numbers adequate to the demand, he saw a source "plain as the progress of the rivulet, which issuing from the little spring in the mountain side, is guided into the reservoir from whence the water is distributed from house to house;" he looked to the Sunday schools, the pupil teachers, the bible classes and the confirmation classes. If the clergy would only "encourage the more promising of the young men who attended their ministrations, would welcome them in their homes, watch over their habits, form their characters, and assist them in their studies," the probationer system and the theological college would take up their work and do all that was necessary to send them forth well furnished and equipped for the work of the ministry.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRINCIPLES AND CONVICTIONS.

THE time has come when it will be necessary to abandon the chronological order in which the leading events of the bishop's life have hitherto been marshalled, and to look at the principles which underlay the whole of that many-sided activity in the service of God. The reader will ask, What were his convictions as a Churchman and as a Citizen, what were his opinions and his politics? What was the secret of the homage that men voluntarily paid to the opinions of Bishop Selwyn, or of the honour in which he was held wherever the Anglican Communion has extended itself? He uttered no shibboleths, he led no party, probably he satisfied no party; his grasp of the Divine inherent life of the Catholic Church and, as growing out of this, the true doctrines of the Priesthood, of the power of the Keys and of Apostolical Succession, of the grace of Sacraments, led some persons to stamp him, in common with all who thus held the truth according to the proportion of the faith, as a High Churchman; but no man ever more truly earned the title of Evangelical or more thoroughly clung to the great and simple doctrines of the Gospel, to the proclamation of which among the heathen he gave the best years of his life: he had gathered all the advantages of the great Oxford movement, whose services to the Church under the good providence of God none but fanatics will refuse to recognise; but he did not allow personal admiration of great men to make him a merely passive follower. His correspondence, as given in these pages, has shown how consistently he declared his love to his own true Mother, in spite of her many shortcomings, and how clearly he detected the grievous errors of her great antagonist. The remedy for those morbid souls who could not endure imperfection in the Anglican Communion was, in his judgment, to be found not in acceptance of the far more serious shortcomings of Rome, but in work in the Mission Field. He did not bid them join himself in his work (which he said had no hardships), but in the crowded cities of India or China, in the plains of Africa, and among the unnumbered islands of the Pacific, he thought there might be found outlets for the excited and sensitive spirits of the Church at home, often more sinned against than sinning, and in which "men who were called rebels in England might be free to serve God and to win souls." To what noble uses, if only his challenge had been accepted, might he not have applied the Spiritual powers of some of those men whom morbid discontent, quickened by lack of sympathy, drove into an acceptance of all the modern dogmas of Rome? A remarkable letter has been preserved, in which he poured forth his regret at the secession of one who at the time possessed more real moral influence than he has ever exercised in the Church of his adoption.

TO THE REV. EDWARD COLERIDGE.

"BORDER MAID,"
AT ANCHOR OFF WOOLOOMOOLOO POINT,
SYDNEY, *Sept.* 22*nd*, 1857.

MY DEAR, VERY DEAR FRIEND,

For such friends are indeed valuable, when we cannot tell from day to day who will desert us next. Now it is that we feel the value of the few of our staunch friends, who we know will never desert us, while others, in whom we trusted, are swelling the force of our opponents. I am led into this train of thought by reading over Manning's last letter to me, in which is the following passage:—

"Through our dear friend Coleridge I have followed the course of your labours, and seem familiar with your works and aims. Need I say with what true sympathy, and with what gratitude for your testimony that the Church of England can live, and spread abroad from its own Spiritual centre"?

How little could I expect that the writer of this sentence in 1848 would so soon desert us! When the whole world was open to him, unencumbered with family, if he felt dissatisfied with the Church in England, he might have been the Xavier of the present age, and I could have ceded to him at once one of the two signs of the terrestrial zodiac which have been assigned to my nominal charge. Among these fertile islands, crowded with living souls, and altogether untouched, we might, with such a leader as Manning, under God's blessing, have built up such a mission work as the Church has not yet seen. But these are vain speculations now that the step is taken, and such men are not likely to return. All that we can now hope for is that it may be found by experience, that in the memory of their past character and in their written works they have left behind them a better treasure than any which they can carry with them to the Church of Rome.

Of the catholicity of his own Communion he never had the shadow of a doubt: her deficiencies, which are accidental and not organic, he thought would be remedied by reverting to the primitive method of seeking the mind of the Spirit in councils of the whole body. Of the corruptions of Rome he was neither ignorant nor tolerant; in the last Diocesan Conference over which he presided, he said, "If there be any here, clergyman or layman, who cannot find it in their heart to thank God for the Reformation, I will not undertake to argue with them. It seems to me as clear as noonday that we have accepted the principles of the Reformation, and I desire nothing more than to be enabled, by God's blessing, to carry out those principles to the highest point of Spiritual life and energy, and to the greatest perfection of practical administration. To attain the first we must live by the rule of the Bible; to attain the second we must seek for the 'Spirit of Counsel' to guide our deliberations." The doctrines which divided less learned men and less humble souls into rival camps were discerned by him as being in harmony, and were seen by him to meet behind the veil, and to kiss each other beneath the shadow of God's throne: truths which to shallow uninstructed minds appeared to be antagonistic, were in his eyes so nicely measured out as to produce a perfect equilibrium, like the physical forces which guide the planets in their orbits.

Persons who were shaken in their allegiance to the Church of England, and who yet desired to take no rash step, were often led by confidence in his learning, his sympathy, and his firmness, to make known their doubts to the bishop. The results were by no means uniform: some were retained, others were lost, but even those who left the Church of their Baptism remember and still express their sense of his kindness and patience. And yet in spite of his patience he had a ready and sharp way of brushing away untenable and overstrained statements. A clergyman in the diocese of Lichfield, doubtful of his own position, and tempted to join the Roman Church, formally discussed the points of difference with one who was well qualified to guide him; nothing was to be done hastily; and it was agreed that the first four Œcumenical Councils should be thoroughly studied, and everything noted down which would seem to favour or to oppose the Roman claims. The Council of Ephesus presented the chief points of importance: the *Jus Cyprium*, established by the final canon of that Council, it was agreed, greatly strengthened the Anglican claim to ecclesiastical autonomy: but when the two friends came to read in Labbé's Original Records the history of the Synod, it appeared that the Synod returned thanks at its close to "*νεῷ Παύλῳ Κυρίλλῳ, καὶ* Κελεστίνῳ, *φύλακι τῆς πίστεως.*" The waverer saw that the Synod called Pope Celestine "the

Guardian of the Faith," and, elate at his discovery, went to the bishop to talk the matter over with him. Too honest to suppress what had happened, he left the Palace only to confess to his friend, that after having with great elation pointed out to the bishop that the great Council of Ephesus had called a Pope "φύλαξ τῆς πίστεως," the bishop had entirely disconcerted him by saying, "I am surprised at your thinking much of that, for it is exactly what the Pope in the sixteenth century called our Eighth Henry."

On another occasion the bishop wrote to one, who afterwards joined the Church of Rome :—

> "My dear Mr. ——
>
> "I am very sorry to hear that your difficulty continues to increase.
>
> "If I were in your position I should feel no greater difficulty than that of leaving my own 'field which the Lord has blessed,' to fly to another field of which I know nothing. The true wisdom in these times of over-excited sensibility is to strive to learn 'in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content.' I can see many faults in the Church of England; but if I were to see none in the Church of Rome I should think myself blind indeed. And of the Church of my parents I can say with all my heart, 'With all thy faults I love thee still.'"

In disputes in matters of ritual he was always tolerant, and increasingly so in later years. It was a subject of regret to many of his friends that, for reasons already given, he did not from his place in Parliament oppose the Public Worship Regulation Act. That ill-starred attempt at popular legislation was passed in panic and avowedly for party purposes; it would be very difficult to point to any so flagrant a breach of the constitution during the two preceding centuries: and by this time probably its warmest advocates are disappointed at their abortive efforts. But if Bishop Selwyn offered no active opposition to the disastrous Bill in Parliament, in his diocese the Act has proved to be a dead letter. He not only discouraged litigation, but he weighed the moral value of the characters and the antecedents of the complainants who came to him with their grievances, and he declined to abandon faithful priests and attached congregations to the persecutions of puppet parishioners, who were the mere tools of partisan organizations. In 1869, after the delivery of the judgment by Lord Cairns, a vicar in the diocese wrote to the bishop that he had long been in the habit of using altar lights, and did not feel in conscience bound to change his practice, but only to inform the bishop of the circumstance.

This elicited the following letter:—

"I am very much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday, so moderate in tone if not convincing in argument.

"Read Socrates' address to the Laws before his death, in *Plato*, summed up by the French Mayor at the time of the Revolution :—'Les lois, même injustes, sont toujours les lois.'

"I cannot agree with your reasoning.

"1. Because the law of the Church in this case is also the law of the land: see Rubric, at the end of Calendar, '*by authority of Parliament.*'

"Whether lights on the altar be part of the law of the Church in England is not for you or me to decide, but for the Court appointed for that purpose by the same *authority of Parliament.*

"2. Whether any future Court will decide in the opposite way neither you nor I can know, but God only; but for the present, the point, as now decided, is the Law.

"You may think Sir R. Phillimore a better judge than Lord Cairns, &c.; others may think the contrary; but the law fixes the course of appeal from Sir R. P. to Lord Cairns: and you cannot make the stream run back again. In this case private opinions are of no value, especially as they contradict one another. But the law remains the same, and takes effect.

"4. Though you are doubtless a priest in the Church Catholic, yet your right to minister is by virtue of a law of the Church of England. If you were to light candles on the High Peak I suppose nobody would question your right; but your right to minister in —— Church to the exclusion of other priests is a right given to you by the law of England, and that law has defined, and the law-making power may define from time to time, in what manner you may minister.

"5. If that law-making power should enact anything which fairly involves the question whether we ought not to obey God rather than man, then the only course open is to retire from —— to the High Peak, or some other place where the Law puts no such constraint upon the conscience.

"6. But I cannot think that candles, or vestments, or incense are matters which touch the conscience, because nothing can be necessary to salvation which is not contained in Holy Scripture. Scruples of conscience I think are wrong which go beyond the point of such necessary things."

The vicar was not convinced, and told the bishop that if he, as his bishop, required him to give up the practice of lighting altar candles, he would obey, but that he could not in conscience recognise the authority of the Civil Court. The bishop made no such request, and indeed never referred to the subject again. His views on the peculiar position of a beneficed priest were frequently given on the occasion of his instituting new incumbents. On one such occasion he said in the course of his sermon:

"The legal and ecclesiastical aspect of institution is the appointment of a clergyman to the cure of souls in the parish to the exclusion of every other clergyman of the Church, and who alone will have authority over the parish as implied by his institution. This implies on his part obedience to certain laws, by means of which his conduct in the ministry of the Church is to be governed. If this were a private building, maintained by private individuals, it would be for those individuals to determine what sort of agreement, what kind of rules, should be enacted by them for the governance of the services of the Church. The rules which govern the services of this Church are such as have been enacted many years ago by the joint consent of the Church and the State, and the institution is guarded by the authority of both. The Prayer-book, which the minister is required to use, and none other, was jointly, again, the production of Church and State. The Book of Common Prayer was first prepared by the authority of the Convocation of the Church, which was afterwards ratified by the State. It would then be in vain to say that any clergyman could accept that pulpit, and be in a position to carry out any other service than that prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. In order that this may be apparent to him and all people, your new rector will have to make a declaration in which he will solemnly give his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and will promise to use the form of the administration of the Sacraments prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other. This is the security of the congregation against any kind of innovation, for, by the declaration, the minister is bound to conduct the services of the parish according to the laws of the Church, agreed upon by the conjoint act of the State and the Church.

"As the Preface to the Prayer-book sets forth, no form of words can be so used as to render it impossible for any difference to arise, but in such cases where doubts arise they are to be laid before the Bishop, and if the Bishop has any doubt he may send it for solution to the Archbishop. Because, then, there must be occasions on which differences of opinion and disputes may arise, you will hear the clergyman, who will now be instituted, take the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Lichfield and his successors in all things lawful and honest, and another oath of fidelity to Queen Victoria and her successors."

But if he thus claimed observance of the laws even of the civil courts, it must not be supposed that he did so on any other ground than that they *were* the laws: he deprecated as heartily as any could the appeal to "aliens from other professions to judge on legal grounds alone of the meaning of words which can have no meaning but by their inward power and application to the heart, all the questions which had been driven into courts of law might," he thought, "have been settled without any such appeal, if one party had been more conciliatory and the other more tolerant. Even now," he said in 1877, "it is not too late; I still cling to the hope that the contending parties in the Church will submit themselves to their bishops. What I claim is that with which even inspired apostles were content; that dissensions and disputations should cease, and that the bishops, clergy, and laity, assembled with one accord under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, should consider what is needful for the peace of the Church, and send up to Parliament and to Convocation our humble petition that we may not be left to seek the solution of our doubts in courts of law, but that in the spirit and very letter of the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, such changes may be made, according to the exigencies of the times, as may make our Rubric clear and our line of duty so plain, that there shall be no longer room for litigation nor necessity for penal laws. Choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the letter of an antiquated law or the voice of the living Church."

The one town in the diocese in which differences on the subject of ritual and kindred Church matters raged most furiously was probably Wolverhampton. In 1871 the local branch of the Church Association made a vague representation to the bishop against all who differed from themselves, and added an expression of disappointment at the fact that the bishops did not apply themselves more heartily to the task of exterminating all High Churchmen, and the document ended with the usual threat, that if they did not do the bidding of the Church

Association "the existence of the Establishment would be imperilled."

The bishop replied in a lengthy address conspicuous for patience, tenderness, and firmness. The complainants were not complimented on their Protestantism or condoled with on the wickedness of the clergy; the bishop was no worshipper of majorities, and cared nothing for violent but indistinct utterances. He declared that, after three years intimate acquaintance with his diocese, he did not believe that there was a single clergyman within its limits who was fairly and justly liable to the imputation of promoting Romish doctrine and teaching; he was not aware that the practice of confession, of which the memorialists complained, had in any case gone beyond the limits recommended in the Prayer-book; and he added of his own knowledge, that some books of devotion containing prayers and forms tending rather to controversy than to edification, which had been introduced, had been immediately withdrawn from use at his request. To those who had expressed their conviction of the bishop's determination to enforce respect for the law, he said—"If I am to understand by these words that I am expected to assume the office of a public prosecutor of the clergy for breaches of the ceremonial law of the Church, I must say at once that I do not so understand the duties of my office. I may be called upon to act as a judge, and I must then inquire into all complaints with the strictest impartiality. I am not at liberty to regard some breaches of the law as of graver importance and to pass by others as trivial. The Lords of the Judicial Committee are clear on this point (Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 23rd December, 1868):—

"'The bishop could have no jurisdiction to modify or dispense with the rubrical provisions.'

"Again: 'Their lordships are of opinion that it is not open to a minister of the Church, or even to their lordships, in advising her Majesty, as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal of appeal, to draw a distinction in acts which are a departure from or violation of the rubric, between those which are important and those which appear to be trivial. The object of a statute of uniformity is, as its preamble expresses, to produce 'an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God,' an object which would be wholly frustrated if each minister on his view of the relative importance of the details of the service were to be at liberty to omit, to add to, or to alter any of those details. The rule upon this subject has been already laid down by the Judicial Committee in 'Westerton *v.* Liddell,' and their lordships are disposed entirely to agree to it.

"'In the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed: no omission and no addition can be permitted.'

"If, therefore, I am called upon as a judge to enforce the law, I must require compliance with the rule of the Prayer-book in every particular, *e.g.*,—

"Daily service in the churches, when there is no reasonable hindrance. Public catechizing. The use of the surplice in all public ministrations. One or more of the offertory sentences. The offering of the bread and wine before the prayer for the Church Militant. The prayer for the Church Militant. The whole exhortation to be read the week before the Holy Communion. The longer as well as the shorter exhortation to be read in the communion office. Consecration at the north side of the communion table. The delivery of the bread and cup to each person with the appointed words. Notice of saints' days and other holidays. The administration of baptism after the second lesson. The use of the form for the Solemnization of Matrimony at full length. The use of the service for the Visitation of the Sick.

"This list of customary deviations from the rule of the Prayer-book will be enough to prove how very difficult and painful would be the duty of the bishop if he were called upon to enforce obedience to the law."

The malcontents were not satisfied, and a Wolverhampton clergyman retorted on the bishop that he had more power than he chose to admit; he might issue inhibitions against the clergy of whom their brethren complained; if this failed he might put them in the Ecclesiastical Courts, "a crucible that few men would like to undergo;" but the bishop smilingly replied, "I am not the man to do it, because I am for conciliation." He then urged that the clergy should all meet together in a friendly and forbearing spirit, discuss the points of difference, praying earnestly and sincerely for the divine guidance to help them to come to a right solution, and he had confidence that in the end they would be able to arrive at one common basis of agreement.

But this was the last thing which the complainants were willing to do; the persecuting instinct, one of the most facile snares which the tempter puts in the way of religious people, was strong within them, and they were bent on gaining a triumph over their opponents. Both parties found that the bishop, with all his tenderness and yearnings after peace, was eminently "strong," and that intimidation would be an useless weapon against him; the doubts which are expressed in the following letter to the Vicar of St. Andrews, Wolverhampton, are eminently those of a man who feared no one, but was only anxious to discharge his own conscience; his sense of the duty of obeying the law, as the law, howsoever made, has already been explained; but he was not prepared to enforce the law all round, as he thought, even if it were possible, the result would not be worth the cost; at the same time he had scruples as to giving curates by his licence a legal position in which they would not observe the law; but while he contemplated the withholding from them this legal position, he never thought of starving souls by inhibiting them from performing their office for the good of their people.

BISHOP'S COURT, ISLE OF MAN,
August 23*rd*, 1876.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

I am much obliged to you for your testimony to Mr. ——'s work, and I may say, once for all, that I have great confidence in your judgment.

I may add, that on any point on which I am clear in mind, I am willing to bear any amount of obloquy.

Remonstrances therefore of the Church Association, or of any other unauthorized persons, will have no weight with me.

But I will not disguise from you the feeling which grows upon me of a conscientious difficulty, affecting no one party in the Church in particular, in relation to licences, oaths, subscriptions, presentations, institutions, and all other *legal* acts by which or through which the bishop appoints or sanctions the appointment of curates and incumbents.

All these are purely *legal* matters, resulting from the law of the land, and all questions arising out of them must be decided by the law of the land. In many cases, as in the Gorham question, the legal claim is mixed up with a question of doctrine. The exact limit and boundary between spiritual and temporal things it is as impossible to define, as the dividing limits of body and soul in the living man.

When therefore any curate or incumbent, whether on one side or the other of Church parties, claims the right of breaking the law, and I know that he is breaking the law and intends to break it and justifies his disobedience by the plea of conscience, that he objects to the Athanasian Creed, or that he believes the Eastward position essential to the Sacrament; am I free in conscience to license or institute him; and thereby to put him into a *legal* position, from which he may defy the law.

The insurrection of the low church clergy against Mr. Elliott's proposal to keep the law, and the explicit statements of the conscientious duty of disobedience contained in recent publications of the *Church Union*, seem to place all bishops in an exceedingly painful position, as if they were to be the only persons who, in an age of excited and even morbid conscience, are to have no conscience at all.

I have a letter from Mr. ——, which clears the subject of much of its difficulty, to the following effect :—

" I have come to see that it is my duty, either to obey the law, when called upon to do so by lawful authority, or to resign my preferment."

This is very different from the current talk " of breaking the law and taking the consequences," a spurious kind of martyrdom which can expect no crown.

If these feelings should gather strength, and be aggravated by new and additional instances of that kind of double dealing which uses the law for one purpose and rejects it at pleasure for other purposes, I should feel that I have no remedy left, but to leave all appointments about which I have any doubt to lapse to the Archbishop and to decline to license curates for the performance of unlawful acts. It is not therefore necessary in the latter case, that I should refuse them permission to officiate, because my stumbling block is the administration of oaths, and the conferring upon them legal powers, while I know them to be breaking the law. It is time that the clergy should know, that we have not parted with our consciences in being made bishops.

Every parish priest knows what this kind of conscience means, and shows it in the vigorous manner in which he exacts from his curates obedience to his own rules of practice, and outward conformity at least with his own teaching.

When the time comes Mr. ——'s claims will receive all due consideration.

Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

At the time when this letter was being written a prosecution had been commenced against the clergyman to whom it was addressed. As the bishop was patron of his benefice, the representation was in compliance with the act forwarded to the archbishop of the province; months elapsed during which the bishop and the vicar of S. Andrew's had no communication; the prosecution shared the usual fate of its fellows under this unhappy law, and broke down on legal grounds, after which the bishop wrote the following letter:

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *March 1st*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

I gladly and even thankfully avail myself of this opportunity to resume unreserved pastoral intercourse with you, but I am only just returned (7.45 p.m.) from London, and I must leave for Stoke at 8 a.m. to-morrow morning. I hope however that it will not be much more difficult for you to come to Stoke than to Lichfield.

We were all very much relieved by the failure of the prosecution, with which however I had nothing to do, as it was the Registrar's business to send on the representation, and not mine. I was absent in the Isle of Man, and returned on the 14th September, when I suppose I found that it had not been sent on, and ordered it to be sent immediately, as it was received by the Archbishop on the 15th September. Why it stayed so long in his office I do not know.

Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

The aggrieved prosecutors were not disheartened by their failure, and fresh proceedings were commenced; public feeling had in some instances been outraged by the first experience of the Public Worship Act, and generally it was felt that imprisonment for life on account of conscientious scruples was rather an anachronism in the latter half of the liberal nineteenth century; nevertheless the vicar of Hatcham was in Horsemonger Lane Gaol, with no reasonable hope of ever being released, and it seemed probable that Mr. Bodington would be the next, but only one of many who would find themselves in similar plight. It was suggested by persons of high consideration that, the first prosecution having failed, the bishop could arrest further proceedings, but the bishop thought otherwise, and his reasons he thus stated:

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *March* 12*th*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

I have carefully read Mr. ——'s letter, with which I do not agree. I do not believe myself to be master of the situation. The bishops voted in a body for the reservation of their own discretion without appeal to the Archbishop. Both Archbishops voted for the appeal. When the law has clearly transferred my discretion to the Archbishop, because

I am patron of the living, it would not become me to interfere with the discretion of the Archbishop given to him by a law, which in other cases would have given it to me. It is the only part of the act for which I am responsible; as I gave no other vote. So far only am I responsible for the P. W. R. act. I can therefore conceive the law saying to me, how can you who voted to prevent the discretion of the bishop from being transferred to the Archbishop, now endeavour to deprive the Archbishop of his discretion and transfer it to the bishop. The principle is an old one that the bishop should not act in the case of livings of which he is patron. It was carried out, I think, in the case of Archdeacon Denison.

I shall of course gladly welcome any opportunity which the Archbishop may give me of expressing my opinion on the case, whether on the subject matters or on the persons concerned. In the meantime the public during this interval in which I am free to speak will know my mind sufficiently from a correspondence which Mr. Andrew promises to publish, in which my opinions will be found expressed with no less clearness than his own, and will probably please neither the Church Union nor the Church Association.

"Inter utrumque legas."

I remain,
In all pastoral regard,
Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

Rev. C. Bodington.

The primate, as is well known, earned the gratitude of the Church by preventing further litigation; Mr. Bodington had declared himself to be willing to follow the admonitions of his bishop, and equally determined not to recognise a new civil jurisdiction; the following letter shows what was the bishop's action when consulted by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *March 16th*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

The Archbishop has sent me your letter to him, and I have answered it to the effect:

1. That I believe you and your congregation to be thoroughly attached to the Church of England.
2. That the services are such as have been adopted since the churches were built.
3. That you have abstained from using vestments at my desire, though solicited by your congregation.
4. That so far as I know the only points on which you feel strongly are:
    1. The Eastward position.
    2. Lights at the Holy Communion.
    3. The mixed chalice.

I should advise you to let the Archbishop know, as stated in your letter, that you offered to give a "plain" celebration as often as might be required.

May God's Spirit be with you on the 21st. Think most of the mind of Christ and of the peace of His Church.

Yours most truly,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

Rev. C. Bodington.

Another prosecution was commenced in October, 1877, and the Archbishop, before taking any steps in the matter, requested Mr. Bodington to meet His Grace at Lambeth. At the interview, which took place on November 7, the primate expressed his desire that the matter should be settled by the bishop of the diocese. Mr. Bodington therefore at once saw the Bishop of Lichfield, and the next day the following letter was written to him as the result of the interview.

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Nov. 8th*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

1. My own desire is, that in all the churches in my diocese, the rubrics, as interpreted by the Court of Appeal, or as plain in themselves, should be strictly observed.
2. But I find that in many churches the plea of custom is alleged to justify a deviation from the strict letter of the law, and these deviations are often cherished by the congregations almost as a right.
3. Where any such claim of custom is alleged, I think that great caution should be used in enforcing prompt

obedience upon an unwilling congregation, by legal proceedings.

4. But I am clearly of opinion, that even a minority of parishioners has a right to demand that the services of the Church should be performed for their benefit in their own parish church in a strictly legal manner, at certain convenient times, at which they may be able to attend, without seeing or hearing anything to offend their conscientious scruples, and at which they may be assured that no ordinance of the Church will be omitted, which they have a lawful right to demand.

5. Without professing to assert any right or power to authorize you to continue to perform any rites which have been declared to be unlawful, I so far respect the feelings of a large majority of your congregation, as to refrain from urging you to bring all your services into exact and immediate agreement with the law.

6. But I do hereby require you to offer to those parishioners who desire the ordinances of the Church to be performed in a strictly lawful manner, such convenient opportunities as may satisfy their just and reasonable demands.

7. The principles upon which this letter is based, apply to all churches in which any addition or omission is customary in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies, ordered by the Prayer Book.

I remain,
My dear Mr. Bodington,
Yours very faithfully,
G. A. Lichfield.

The Reverend C. Bodington.

The bishop's decision as given in this letter was at once accepted by Mr. Bodington, who forwarded the letter itself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a statement that he had undertaken to abide by the terms of the bishop's letter. To those who knew how implacable was the spirit which prompted these prosecutions, it seemed doubtful whether the troubles were at an end; the bishop was one of those who doubted, and he wrote on November 16:

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Nov.* 16*th*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. BODINGTON,

I fear that we are not yet out of the wood.

The Archbishop has referred the question to me on the ground of the Preface to the Prayer Book.

But the Preface to the Prayer Book refers to things doubtful.

But nothing is doubtful which has been decided by a court of competent jurisdiction.

Your practices, lights, mixed chalice, and eastward position have been so decided.

Therefore the opponents will say there is nothing doubtful to be referred to the bishop.

What then does the Archbishop refer to me? A discretion to decide whether the case shall proceed or not?

No, the law has taken away that discretion from the bishop when he is patron of the living, and has given it to the Archbishop.

How then can the Archbishop give back to the bishop what the law has taken from him?

If we had consistent and charitable opponents they would say:

"The bishop is contending for the rights of congregations resting not upon law but upon custom; just as the evangelical clergy defend clear transgressions of the law, on the plea of custom."

But you have *not* consistent or charitable opponents: they will say: "All that Mr. Bodington does is popish, for which no custom can be pleaded as a defence; all that we do, in omitting the Athanasian Creed, &c., is in the exercise of our conscientious convictions, sanctioned by custom."

If prosecutions were carried out either against the omissions of the Low Church or the additions of the High Church, both would be condemned, but the Church would become too hot for any one to live in.

We come then to the recognition of custom, side by side with law, and candid men will claim the benefit of it for both parties.

The Low Church party will probably continue to claim it for themselves and deny the benefit of it to their High

Church brethren. Therefore I conclude they will not accept my decision and there will be no peace.

Yours most truly,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

Rev. C. Bodington.

But the Archbishop stayed the proceedings, and attempts at renewing the persecutions since the bishop's death have been arrested by the present bishop following the lines laid down by his predecessor.

In addition to the usual troubles which arise where party feeling runs high within the Church, Wolverhampton was disturbed by the establishment of a Greek Church, in which an Englishman who had acted as an organist in Staffordshire officiated, having obtained ordination from the Greek Church. The bishop, being applied to for direction, wrote, "I cannot look upon Mr. —— in any other light than as a schismatic. He had no members of his adopted Church in Wolverhampton. The Greek Church had no footing and was not wanted there; a formal protest has been made to the authorities of the Greek Church against his appointment. He has not applied to me for recognition. My advice therefore to my clergy is not to take part with him in any of his public acts."

During his New Zealand career Bishop Selwyn had always had the advantage of the advice of eminent lawyers, who were also devout Churchmen; he came himself of a legal stock, and was likely from hereditary association as well as from his orderly instincts and method of thought to pay great respect to legal decisions. The late Sir John Patteson and Sir John Taylor Coleridge were consulted by him at every step in his provision for the synodal action of the diocese, and for the trusteeship of its property; he had also continually by his side his firm friend Sir W. Martin, the Chief Justice of New Zealand, who, after he had resigned the toils of official life, took part in the education of young men in S. Stephen's Native Maori School at Auckland; but it is stated by one who was ever in his counsels that in later years he had lost all faith in lawyers and legal decisions on matters affecting the Church. It was not merely that he saw how impossible it was to endure judgments of the same court which destroyed each other, or to believe that they were based on strict principles of law, but he felt that the harsh, unyielding action of the law tended to widen differences, while the difficulty of enforcing its judgments brought the law itself into contempt. On this account probably he appointed Bishop Hobhouse, in 1874, to the office of Chancellor, which had been held by the Rev. Thomas Law. On the occasion of the solemn institution in the cathedral, the bishop said that his reason for appointing an ecclesiastic rather than a lawyer was that in all differences that might arise between the clergy and their people he much preferred exercising the Christian principle of conciliation and arbitration, rather than an appeal to litigation. He then went on to say, " As I have known Bishop Hobhouse for many years, and have seen his power of conciliation and peacemaking among his brethren, I believe he may be very serviceable in carrying out a system of prevention which is always better than cure. At the same time, I know him to be well acquainted with ecclesiastical law and precedents." After this, Bishop Hobhouse knelt down and the Bishop of Lichfield said, " The Lord God, the righteous Judge of all the earth, who is no respecter of persons, give thee a right judgment in all things, through Jesus Christ our Lord! Amen."

Bishop Hobhouse was obliged by ill health to resign his office after holding it only a few months, and was succeeded by the Hon. Robert Charles Herbert, who had been one of the bishop's pupils thirty-five years before.

When the judgment known as the Purchas Judgment was given, on which at one time so much stress was laid, but which has since been grudgingly neutralised by the same tribunal which pronounced it, the bishop at once declared his unwillingness to proceed against any of his clergy who did not accept it; he expressed at the same time his hope that the temper of Churchmen would incline to moderation and charity, and he deprecated dragging their differences into courts, whose very composition prevented many good men from being bound in conscience by their decisions; he thought that the legislature should define the law instead of allowing judges by their decisions to make the law. For himself he was quite prepared to consecrate facing Eastward, and in so doing he should not obscure the view of the congregation; he did not agree with the outcry of Romanist tendencies against many good and holy men, who, from motives of greater reverence and desire to conform to the rubric, had long consecrated in this position, but he advised that conscience should not be allowed to run riot so as to outweigh things of fundamental importance. As to the black gown he agreed with the Archbishop of York in thinking that "ministration" included preaching, and that the surplice was the only legal vestment; but if the afternoon sermon tolerated the gown, it could only be said that it was itself a deviation from the rubric, and superseded the far more useful catechizing; the difference between the two being that "catechizing meant long texts and short sermons, and preaching meant short texts and long sermons."

The laity are not prone to delate their clergy to the authorities for neglecting their duty; the people who fly to the law-courts in the name of religion are generally quite content with a careless and apathetic ministry; thus it is that the clergy who fall short either in practice or in faith of the standard of the Church can generally reckon on doing so undisturbed. On one occasion, however, an aggrieved parishioner reported to his bishop that his vicar did not say the Creed of S. Athanasius at the times prescribed by the Prayer-book: to the clergyman thus complained of the bishop wrote the following letter:—

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *July* 12*th*, 1873.

MY DEAR ——,

I have received a protest from —— objecting to the omission of the Creed of S. Athanasius on Trinity Sunday. With his letter is an extract of one from you, in which are the following words:—

"Our own bishop neither in public nor private has urged the matter on his clergy."

Now that the Synod of the Province of Canterbury has declared the sense in which the Church directs that creed to be understood, I hope that you will have no further scruple in using the creed, as you have promised to use it, and in accepting it, as you have already accepted it, as a document which can be proved by certain warrant of Holy Scripture.

My own wish is a very small point in the matter, but I do most earnestly hope that you will use the creed at the appointed seasons.

I send a conspectus of the creeds, drawn up to show, that the words objected to in the Creed of S. Athanasius appertain to, and are implied in, all the creeds.

1. That a definite faith is necessary.
2. That the maintenance of that faith to the end is a condition of salvation.

I remain,
Yours very faithfully,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

The "Conspectus of the Creeds" here mentioned was drawn up by the bishop and circulated widely in the diocese at the time when the Athanasian Creed was being assailed on all sides, and when a theory of future punishment, which it is hard to distinguish from Universalism, was being preached in certain pulpits, and commended by the Secular Press, to the great delight of Unitarian congregations, both in England and in America. It is believed that many persons will be glad to have a document so comprehensive and yet so simple, and under that impression it is here given.

In the Name of the FATHER and of the SON and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

EARNESTLY CONTEND FOR THE FAITH WHICH WAS ONCE DELIVERED UNTO THE SAINTS.—*S. Jude*, 3.

WHOSOEVER will be Saved before all things it is necessary that he hold the CATHOLIC FAITH, WHICH FAITH, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

AND THE CATHOLIC FAITH IS THIS:

HOLY SCRIPTURE	*BAPTISMAL CREED*	*APOSTLES' CREED*	*NICENE CREED*	*ATHANASIAN CREED*	*TE DEUM LAUDAMUS*	*LITANY*	*BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*	*ARTICLES OF RELIGION*
Baptizing them in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.—*S. Matt.* xxviii. 19. Canst thou by searching find out GOD? As high as heaven: what canst thou do? Deeper than hell: what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea.—*Job* xi. 7.	I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD	I BELIEVE IN GOD	WE BELIEVE IN ONE GOD	THAT WE WORSHIP ONE GOD IN TRINITY AND TRINITY IN UNITY; Neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the FATHER, another of the SON, and another of the HOLY GHOST. But the GODHEAD of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal. Such as the FATHER is, such is the SON, and such is the HOLY GHOST. The FATHER uncreate, the SON uncreate, and the HOLY GHOST uncreate. The FATHER incomprehensible, the SON incomprehensible, and the HOLY GHOST incomprehensible.	We PRAISE THEE, O GOD, We acknowledge THEE to be the LORD.	O Holy, Blessed, and Glorious TRINITY, three Persons and ONE GOD.	ONE GOD, ONE LORD. Not one only Person, but three Persons in one Substance. For that which we believe of the Glory of the FATHER, the same we believe also of the SON and of the HOLY GHOST without any difference or inequality.	There is but ONE LIVING and TRUE GOD everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and Goodness. And in unity of this GODHEAD there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST.
The heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain THEE.—1 *Kings* viii. 27. The breadth and length, and depth and height.—*Ephes.* iii. 18. Whither shall I go from THY SPIRIT?—*Psalm* cxxxix. 7. I AM HE: I am the first, I am also the last.—*Isaiah* xlviii. 12. I AM Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.—*Rev.* i. 8. The eternal SPIRIT.—*Heb.* ix. 14. The LORD GOD omnipotent.—*Rev.* xix. 6.				The FATHER eternal, the SON eternal, and the HOLY GHOST eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but ONE ETERNAL. As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but ONE uncreated and ONE incomprehensible.				
The LORD, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the ALMIGHTY.—*Rev.* i. 8. All power is given unto ME in heaven and in earth.—*S. Matt.* xxviii. 18. All mine are thine and thine are mine.—*S. John* xvii. 10. All things that the FATHER hath are mine.—*S. John* xvi. 15. The LORD your GOD is GOD of gods and LORD of lords.—*Deut.* x. 17. My LORD and my GOD.—*S. John* xx. 28. The LORD is that SPIRIT.—2 *Cor.* iii. 17. The LORD your GOD is ONE LORD.—*Deut.* vi. 4; *S. Mark* xii. 29. I AM the LORD, and there is none else.—*Isaiah* xlv. 5. Ye believe in GOD, believe also in ME.—*S. John* xiv. 1. ONE SPIRIT.—*Ephes.* iv. 4.				So likewise the FATHER is Almighty, the SON Almighty, and the HOLY GHOST Almighty. And yet they are not three Almighties, but ONE ALMIGHTY. So the FATHER is GOD, the SON is GOD, and the HOLY GHOST is GOD. And yet they are not three GODS but ONE GOD. So likewise the FATHER is LORD, the SON LORD, and the HOLY GHOST LORD. And yet not three Lords, but ONE LORD. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by himself to be GOD and LORD. So are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say, there be three Gods or three Lords. So there is ONE FATHER, not three Fathers, ONE SON, not three Sons, ONE HOLY GHOST, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this TRINITY none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, The UNITY in TRINITY and the TRINITY in UNITY is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the TRINITY.			Almighty and Everlasting GOD, who hast given unto us Thy servants grace by the confession of a true Faith to acknowledge the glory of the Eternal TRINITY, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the UNITY, We beseech Thee that Thou wouldst keep us stedfast in this FAITH.	
ONE GOD and FATHER of all.—*Ephes.* iv. 6.	THE FATHER,	THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER of Heaven and Earth,	THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible.	The FATHER is made of none; neither created nor begotten.	All the Earth doth worship THEE THE FATHER EVERLASTING. THE FATHER of an infinite MAJESTY.	O GOD the FATHER of heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.	O LORD GOD, Heavenly KING, GOD the FATHER ALMIGHTY.	The MAKER and PRESERVER of all things both visible and invisible.
		And in JESUS CHRIST,	AND in ONE LORD JESUS CHRIST,	The SON is of the FATHER alone, not made nor created, but BEGOTTEN. Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.	THINE honourable, true, and ONLY SON.	O GOD the SON, Redeemer of the World. By the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation.	O LORD, the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, JESUS CHRIST, SON of the FATHER.	THE SON, which is the Word of the FATHER, begotten from everlasting of the FATHER,
GOD so loved the world that HE gave HIS ONLY BEGOTTEN SON.—*S. John* iii. 16. KING of Kings and LORD of Lords.—*Rev.* xix. 6. Thou art the CHRIST, the SON of the LIVING GOD.—*S. Matt.* xvi. 16. I believe that JESUS CHRIST is the SON of GOD.—*Acts* viii. 37. We believe and are sure that thou art that CHRIST, the SON of the living GOD.—*S. John* vi. 69.	THE SON,	HIS ONLY SON our Lord,	THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD. Begotten of His Father before all worlds. GOD OF GOD, LIGHT OF LIGHT, VERY GOD OF VERY GOD, Begotten not made, Being of one Substance with the Father; By Whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven,	For the right Faith is that we believe and confess that our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the SON of GOD, is GOD and MAN. GOD of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds, And MAN of the substance of His mother, born in the world, PERFECT GOD and PERFECT MAN, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the FATHER as touching His GODHEAD, and inferior to the FATHER as touching His MANHOOD,	THOU art the KING OF GLORY, O CHRIST: THOU art the EVERLASTING SON OF THE FATHER.	By Thy holy nativity and circumcision. By THY Baptism, fasting, and temptation.	JESUS CHRIST, Thine ONLY SON, who, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, was made very MAN, of the substance of the Virgin MARY, His mother.	The VERY and ETERNAL GOD, And of one Substance with the FATHER, Took man's nature in the womb of the BLESSED VIRGIN, of her substance. So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the GODHEAD and MANHOOD, were joined together in one Person never to be divided, whereof is ONE CHRIST, VERY GOD and VERY MAN.
Believe on the LORD JESUS CHRIST and thou shalt be saved.—*Acts* xvi. 31. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.—*Acts* iv. 12.		Who was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, Born of the VIRGIN MARY,	and was incarnate by the HOLY GHOST, Of the Virgin MARY, and was made MAN.	Who although He be GOD and MAN, yet He is not two, but ONE CHRIST. ONE; not by conversion of the GODHEAD into Flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into GOD. ONE altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by Unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so GOD and MAN is ONE CHRIST.	When THOU tookest upon THEE to deliver man, THOU didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.		The ALMIGHTY GOD make thee know and feel that there is none other name under heaven given to man, in whom and through whom thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the NAME of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.	Article 18. HOLY SCRIPTURE doth set out unto us only the name of JESUS CHRIST, whereby men must be saved.
Ought not CHRIST to have suffered these things?—*S. Luke* xxiv. 26. We preach CHRIST CRUCIFIED.—[illegible]		SUFFERED under Pontius Pilate, Was CRUCIFIED, DEAD, and BURIED.	And was CRUCIFIED also for us under Pontius Pilate. HE SUFFERED, And was BURIED,	Who SUFFERED for our salvation,	When THOU hadst overcome the sharpness of death,	By Thine agony and bloody sweat. By Thy CROSS and passion. By Thy precious DEATH and BURIAL. By Thy glorious RESURREC-		Who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried. As CHRIST died for us, and was buried, so also it is to be believed, that He [illegible]

My Lord and my God.—*S. John* xx. 28. The Lord is that Spirit.—*2 Cor.* iii. 17. The Lord your God is one Lord.—*Deut.* vi. 4; *S. Mark* xii. 29. I am the Lord, and there is none else.—*Isaiah* xlv. 5. Ye believe in God, believe also in Me.—*S. John* xiv. 1. One Spirit.—*Ephes.* iv. 4.				So there is One Father, not three Fathers, One Son, not three Sons, One Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this Trinity none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, The Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.			glory of the Eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity, We beseech Thee that Thou wouldst keep us stedfast in this Faith.	
One God and Father of all.—*Ephes.* iv. 6.	The Father,	The Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth,	The Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible.	The Father is made of none; neither created nor begotten.	All the Earth doth worship Thee The Father Everlasting. The Father of an infinite Majesty.	O GOD the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.	O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.	The Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible.
		And in Jesus Christ,	And in One Lord Jesus Christ,	The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten. Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.	Thine honourable, true, and Only Son.	O GOD the Son, Redeemer of the World. By the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation.	O Lord, the only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Son of the Father.	The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,
God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son.—*S. John* iii. 16. King of Kings and Lord of Lords.—*Rev.* xix. 6. Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.—*S. Matt.* xvi. 16. I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.—*Acts* viii. 37.	The Son,	His only Son our Lord,	The Only Begotten Son of God. Begotten of His Father before all worlds. God of God, Light of Light, very God of Very God, Begotten not made, Being of one Substance with the Father; By Whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven,	For the right Faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is GOD and Man. GOD of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds, And Man of the substance of His mother, born in the world, Perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood,	Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ: Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father.	By Thy holy nativity and circumcision. By Thy Baptism, fasting, and temptation.	Jesus Christ, Thine only Son, who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very Man, of the substance of the Virgin Mary, His mother.	The very and eternal God, And of one Substance with the Father, Took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance, So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person never to be divided, whereof is one Christ very God and very Man.
We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.—*S. John* vi. 69. Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.—*Acts* xvi. 31. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.—*Acts* iv. 12.		Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary,	and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, Of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man.	Who although He be GOD and Man, yet He is not two, but One Christ. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into GOD. One altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by Unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so GOD and Man is One Christ.	When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.		The Almighty God make thee know and feel that there is none other name under heaven given to man, in whom and through whom thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.	Article 18.—Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.
Ought not Christ to have suffered these things?—*S. Luke* xxiv. 26. We preach Christ crucified.—*1 Cor.* i. 23.		Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was Crucified, Dead, and Buried.	And was Crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He Suffered, And was Buried,	Who suffered for our salvation,	When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death,	By Thine agony and bloody sweat. By Thy Cross and passion. By Thy precious Death and Burial.		Who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried.
		He Descended into Hell,		Descended into Hell,				As Christ died for us and was buried; so also it is to be believed, that He went down into Hell.
Christ both died and rose and revived that He might be Lord both of the dead and living.—*Rom.* xiv. 9.		The Third Day He Rose Again from the dead.	And the Third Day He Rose again, according to the Scriptures,	Rose again the Third Day from the dead.	Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.	By Thy glorious Resurrection,	Chiefly are we bound to praise Thee for the glorious Resurrection of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.	Christ did truly rise again from the dead.
If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.—*Rom.* x. 9. He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens.—*Ephes.* iv. 10.		He Ascended into Heaven.	And Ascended into Heaven,	He ascended into Heaven,		And Ascension.	Ascended up into Heaven.	He ascended into Heaven.
Sat on the right hand of God.—*S. Mark* xvi. 19.		And Sitteth at the Right Hand of God, the Father Almighty,	And Sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father,	He sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father, GOD Almighty.	Thou sittest at the right hand of GOD, in the glory of the Father;		Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father.	And there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day.
The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.—*S. John* v. 22.		From thence He shall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead.	And He shall come again with glory to Judge both the Quick and the Dead. Whose Kingdom shall have no end.	From whence He shall come to Judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.	We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.	In the day of Judgment, Good Lord, deliver us.		
The eternal Spirit.—*Heb.* ix. 14. The Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.—*S. John* xv. 26. The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name.—*S. John* xiv. 26. The Comforter whom I will send unto you from the Father.—*S. John* xv. 26. I will send Him unto you.—*S. John* xvi. 7. God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son.—*Gal.* iv. 6.	And The Holy Ghost.	I Believe in the Holy Ghost,	And we believe in the Holy Ghost.	The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.	Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.	O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son.		The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father, and the Son, very and eternal God.
			Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.	Council of Toledo, A.D. 589.				
			The Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets.	And The Son.	By the coming of the Holy Ghost.			
Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.—*Ephes.* ii. 20. This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.—*S. John* xvii. 3.		The Holy Catholic Church, The Communion of Saints, The Forgiveness of Sins, The Resurrection of the Body, And the Life Everlasting. Amen.	And we believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church, We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. And we look for the Resurrection of the Dead, And the Life of the world to come. Amen.				Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, One Communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Thy Son. The mystical body of Thy Son which is the blessed company of all faithful people.	Article 8. The three Creeds, *Nicene* Creed, *Athanasius's* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles'* Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

THIS IS THE CATHOLIC FAITH WHICH EXCEPT A MAN BELIEVE FAITHFULLY HE CANNOT BE SAVED.

Haec Vera Fides. Haec Sancta Fides. Haec Sempiterna Fides. In Haec Baptizati Sumus. Omnes ita Credimus.

Bishop Taylor, '*Liberty of Prophesying*,' c. 37:—" And yet I must observe, that this symbol of Athanasius, and that other of Nice, offer not at any new Articles; they only pretend to a further explication of the Articles Apostolical."
Bishop Taylor, '*Liberty of Prophesying*,' c. 36, St. Peter:—" Bringing in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. Such as these are truly heresies, and such as these are certainly damnable."
Hooker, '*Ecclesiastical Polity*,' Book V., c. 42, 13:—" To hatch their heresy have chosen those Churches as fitting nests, where Athanasius' Creed is not heard."

G. A. LICHFIELD.

To face page 352.]

It is only where faith is thus firmly rooted and intelligently built up, that spiritual work of the highest and most abiding kind is done. In Lichfield the bishop every now and then would put aside his distinctly episcopal work, and refresh his spirit with that pastoral work, the loss of which he often spoke of as one of the trials of his position. Lichfield readers will possibly recognise the *locale* of the following tale of work of this kind, which the bishop once undertook.

A certain parish had 12,000 souls. The living was sequestrated, not so much through the fault as the misfortune of the vicar, who was a complete invalid. His creditors allowed him 150*l.* per annum to live upon. How could he keep a curate? He did not keep one, and he was so ill that he could not stay at home. The charge of this huge parish was altogether neglected, so far as the Church was concerned, except that a brother clergyman from a parish four or five miles off went occasionally to give one service on Sunday. When Lent came, his time was required for his own 12,000 people. Then it was that the bishop, seeing the destitute state of the parish, and "having compassion," like his Divine master, "on the multitude," relinquished almost every other duty, and came and devoted himself entirely to these sheep in the wilderness. He visited the sick, cared for the dying, buried the dead, taught the children, ministered in the Church, and had the satisfaction of seeing seventy communicants on Easter Day. The good work did not stop there—a wealthy London parish offered to maintain a mission there; the bishop got a district cut off from this neglected mass, and found an admirable curate, who set to work steadily and in earnest.

The people of the Black Country responded to this call—they fell in with the schemes and works brought before them. The wealthy Londoners paid most of the curate's salary; the poorer members of that London parish formed themselves into a guild, and paid the rest. The Church-people of both parishes worked for the building of a church. The church is built. The bishop was to have consecrated it on Easter Tuesday, 1878. *Dîs aliter visum.* He was at rest on the 11th April, and was buried in Holy Week. This, and this alone, broke the dramatic unity and perfection of the whole history.

No one valued more highly the privilege of leisure for meditation and worship: this is mentioned many times in his letters from New Zealand, where the pressure of daily duties engrossed his time until, as he said, "We have hardly time for prayer:" he had reckoned such opportunities among the highest privileges of the members of cathedral chapters: but he always insisted on the combination of directly spiritual work and dealing with souls with intellectual pursuits and the service of the sanctuary. This was insisted on with unusual force in a letter to a very young clergyman, who had consulted the bishop about joining a brotherhood, and was dissuaded from doing so until he had acquired more experience.

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Nov. 26th*, 1876.

MY DEAR MR. ——.

I rejoice at your change of plan. Mr. —— is one of the best of men, and his work is a good and holy work. But such works are not good for all alike; and I think are especially doubtful in their probable effect upon young and inexperienced men. Pastoral work, like outdoor exercise, is good for all. The experimental knowledge of the heart cannot I think be learned from books or from meditation; nor even from the Word of God, unless the commentary be sought by self-examination, tested and corrected by close acquaintance with the hearts and feelings of other men. The death-bed and the school, the end and the beginning of life, are the seasons most full of instruction, for the simple reason because the mind in both states is least under disguise. Middle age is the season of self-deception. I think that I have found a hospital the best school of human nature. The more diversified the range of characters, so much the more complete is the lesson. I am very glad therefore that you are going to a place where you will be plunged in the full tide of human life. You will be a better member of a brotherhood ten years hence; if it please God to call you to that office.

In his dealings with Christians of other bodies and communions he was entirely consistent, and like most persons who regulate their conduct on well-defined principles, he pleased neither extreme. His learning as well as his convictions forbad his doubting both the untenable and the unsafe position of Protestant Dissenters: it was to save weak and unstable and ill-instructed Church-folk from being drawn into Dissent that he ventured, while an Eton tutor, on the then rare experiment of evening services at Windsor: the dissenting teacher, a man of mark beyond the limits of his own body, had already gained an influence over Church-people whom the Church had neglected, and was not well pleased at finding his supply of proselytes arrested: but forty years later he stood among the crowd around the grave in Lichfield Close offering no mean tribute to the memory of him who on conscientious grounds had opposed him. In New Zealand it was the bishop's fate to discover in his earlier journeys that the Wesleyans had in many parts of the Southern Island carefully instructed their simple people in the differences that existed among Christians, rather than in Christianity itself: but he did not on that account dream of withdrawing from any part of the diocese which had been entrusted to him: his object was to minimise the difference and so to aim at union. Among the islands of the Pacific the case was different; here were 200 islands spread over many degrees of latitude, and having hardly anything in common, except their unhealthiness, which caused the English-speaking teachers on the few islands that had been so occupied to expedite the perfecting of a system of a native ministry. With these teachers, chiefly Presbyterians and Congregationalists, from Scotland, from England, or from America, and representing the divisions into which Presbyterianism has been split, he was on friendly terms: he lent them all moral support; he gave their missionaries free passages in his Church ship, and so far from attempting to proselytize, he never lost an opportunity of exalting them and their influence in the eyes of their people. Had all these islands been compacted into a continent where divers forms of Christianity were making their influence felt, consistency would have impelled him to another line of action: as it was, he looked forward to the time when the indigenous Christian congregations, on whom no imputation of schism could lie, would seek to be united to the Catholic Church, and then he would have no difficulty in receiving them. So in England, while no man was less disposed to ignore fundamental differences, no man was less willing to magnify small things. On a certain occasion he was asked by a clergyman in his diocese whether he would receive for Confirmation two persons who desired to be confirmed but who were unwilling to sever their connection with the Wesleyans, and he replied:—"If the couple are willing to abide by John Wesley's rule of coming to church to receive the Holy Communion and bringing their children to church to be baptized, I am willing to receive them to Confirmation on your certificate, and shall no more question their attendance to hear any Wesleyan preacher than if he were one of our own lay readers." The Roman Catholics he treated with the same respect which he accorded to others, who let him alone to do his work in peace; and he honoured the work which they did while he regretted the many openings of which he had had the first opportunity of availing himself but failed for lack of help. During the Waikato war he thankfully acknowledged the courtesy of the Roman Catholic chaplain who lent him the use of his chapel for Divine Service, having previously removed everything that could offend any sensitive Protestant who might be found among the soldiers. His fairness in dealing with Romanists was the more creditable, inasmuch as he was constantly accused of sympathising too much with them, and was made the victim of the "No Popery" cry which is the ever ready resource of the weak and the malignant. The Romanists for their part knew better, and their native converts were led to believe that the English Church was but a part of the system which kept the country in subjection. At a remote spot in the heart of the colony, he was once asked by some Roman Catholic natives, whether he was not obliged to have troops to protect him and his property at Auckland? For some time he was puzzled to find any basis, however improbable, on which so wild a story could rest; at last he found that it referred to the fact that an old pensioner sergeant from one of the pensioner villages founded by the Government, used to come to St. John's College to drill the English and Maori boys; so he said, "Tell your good priest that I don't keep soldiers at Auckland to protect me, but ask him whether the Pope is not obliged to keep French soldiers at Rome to protect him?" With all his tolerance and courtesy there was no sort of compromise, nothing from which the most ignorant could infer that differences of creed were of no account. Rather, his acts of kindness and sympathy, interpreted by the rule which he laid down of never joining in the religious service of other bodies, even on the most remote island, tended to mark more clearly the importance of the difference which separated but did not estrange. It may truly be said that had the Home Episcopate during the last hundred years possessed more of the Selwyn spirit of wisdom, meekness, and firmness, Wesley's work would probably not have been lost to us, and Rome would now be poorer than she is, and the Anglican Communion would have retained and utilised those two reforming movements which, starting from opposite standpoints, set forth the necessity of personal sanctity, and protested against worldliness and apathy.

With his strong convictions fortified by learning and conscience he ever insisted on the value of religious education. The schools at Eton and Windsor, in which he took so warm an interest, were but the prelude to his patient labours for Christian training at the Antipodes and in Lichfield. Beyond caring for the state of parochial schools throughout his diocese, he gave unswerving support to the schools at Denstone; herein he was following in the steps of Bishop Lonsdale, who replied to some persons who suspected romanizing doctrines in the founder's intentions, "This is the Church's doctrine: you may disapprove of it if you will, but as Churchmen you have no right to complain of those who follow it." On the opening of the school in 1873 he preached the sermon in the temporary chapel, formally instituted the provost, and publicly expressed his confidence in the future of the school, as the "home of sound learning and religious education." The remedy for board schools he found in the clergyman himself being the daily teacher of religion. In a well-worked parish of moderate size there ought, he considered, to be no difficulty: "the clergyman sooner or later would have everything his own way, for Dissent has no root save in the indolence or the dissensions of the Church. Board schools would be innocuous where the majority of the people were attached to the Church and to their parish priest: candidates for Confirmation would not be wanting where the clergyman himself taught in both Sunday and daily school, and the bishop's notice would be a mere almanac and not a charge to the clergy."

The increase of the Home Episcopate, and especially the division of his own See, found a very ardent advocate in the Bishop of Lichfield. His arguments were so copious that they seemed to be inexhaustible, and he never repeated them. In 1873 he made a speech, which only he could have made, in Convocation, on the report of the Committee of the Upper House on this question. He said:—

"I remember that about thirty years ago an opinion was started and accepted by many that there ought to be no more bishops until they were provided with seats in the House of Lords, and 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* a year. There are two bishops now present who would not have been present if that opinion had been allowed to prevail. I mean the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph. It was proposed, to the eternal disgrace of the Church, that one of these bishoprics should be abolished, in order to found a bishopric in the rich city of Manchester, and I believe that, had it not been for the exertions of the late Earl of Powis, that scheme would have been carried out. Much of what we have heard has turned on the question whether it is necessary that a bishop should have a seat in the House of Lords and 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* a year. The Bishop of London has said that it is not expedient that there should be different classes of bishops. Before the disestablishment of the Irish Church there were four classes of bishops. The Irish bishops had seats by rotation. We have one bishop, who is not in the House of Lords, waiting for succession. We have a Bishop of Sodor and Man, who never had a seat in that assembly. Then there are the English bishops, like ourselves, who have seats in the House of Lords. Thus there were four classes of bishops carrying on their work without any feeling in the public mind of any difference in their *status*—whether they were in the House of Lords or out of it. During the fifty years that Bishop Wilson was Bishop of Sodor and Man, I would ask if any one felt less respect for him because he was not a member of the House of Lords? As a member of the House of Lords, I certainly do not wish to be turned out of it; but I do not see why there should not be nineteen or twenty bishops waiting for succession, as there is one at the present time. With regard to the question of income, that has been said to be a matter of great moment. Many bishops have spoken of their own experience, and I may speak of mine. I began with an income of 1,200*l.* a year. After thirteen years it was reduced to 600*l.* After eighteen years it was reduced to 400*l.* At the end of twenty-six years it was raised to 4,500*l.* But amidst all these changes I never found the slightest difference in position, in influence, or in my means of exercising hospitality. I carried out in my diocese abroad as much hospitality as I have been able to carry out in the diocese of Lichfield. The only difference was in the style of entertainment:—

> ‘bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis
> Sed pullo atque hœdo.’

“With regard to the extension of the Episcopate I may speak with some authority, having taken part in multiplying bishops in New Zealand from one to seven. This large extension was at one time considered quite chimerical. And when the proposal was first made to the Duke of Newcastle, he asked where was the money to come from. I said to him—‘I hope you will not interfere to prevent the multiplication of bishops, because many things are not necessary in New Zealand which are necessary in England. Give us authority to consecrate as many bishops as we can.’ His Grace said—‘Do as you will, you are the best judges.’ Now what do we desire to do? There are four points which ought to be kept clearly before our minds. The first is—What is the work to be done? The second is—How many men are required to do it? The third is—What funds are available for the maintenance of those bishops? And then—What portion of that fund will be available for the maintenance of each bishop? Now, is not that exactly the principle on which the Ecclesiastical Commission was founded and has been carried out? . . . The income of the Bishopric of Lichfield is made up out of the bishoprics of Durham, Winchester, and others; and the Bishop of Rochester is receiving part of the funds taken from other bishoprics. Unless we are able to assume that the present number of men are able to do the work they are expected to do, the same principle should be extended. If we find it necessary that the number should be increased, if we find that the work is greater than the men can do, there must be a further subdivision of income, in order that a sufficient number of men may be maintained to do the work in a satisfactory manner. Something has been said about the necessity of a certain income being essential to the position and influence of a bishop. Now, I deny that altogether. Every man in England is rated according to his means, and every one is expected to do what his neighbours do. If a diocese was divided or reduced, as the Bishop of Ely said, there would be fewer parishes to contribute to, and public opinion as to the income of the bishop would be much changed. Now, let us say at once that we are as a body insufficient for the work to which we are appointed—that we need not a small, but a large extension of our numbers—that we are adopting expedients which are good, but not sufficient for the purpose—that we are providing suffragan bishops, coadjutor bishops, and other aids; but unless our numbers are supplemented, we cannot effectively fulfil the work required of us. To what purpose are the surplus revenues of the cathedrals now being applied? To the subdivision of large parishes. And why? Because the clergyman in such parishes is unequal for the work intrusted to him. We have carried out a scheme for the benefit of parishes, but not of dioceses. And how can we resist the conclusion that it is necessary to do for dioceses what is necessary for our parishes—to make the work a real work? Now, what is the character of the work of our bishops? Half a century ago some thought that the bishops had no work whatever. When the proposal was first made that there should be a Bishop of Capetown, it was asked—Why appoint a bishop? Will not an archdeacon do? The public mind was not at that time sufficiently informed as to the spiritual duties with which the bishops are charged. In the case of my own diocese, an aged member of the Church at Wolverhampton told me that he was one of three thousand who were confirmed in one day, after an interval of seven years since the last Confirmation. Now, under such circumstances, was it likely that the public mind should be well informed as to the nature of the Episcopal office? We have lost ground. We ought to be multiplied, so as to be able to become acquainted with every parish, and to spend a day or two every year in each parish. Until that is the case, we shall never have the Episcopal office presented to the public mind as it ought to be. With respect to the multiplication of confirmations, a good deal has been said about the decrease in the number of candidates. An increase of from 15 to 20 per cent. has taken place in my own diocese. Now, why are the laity so ignorant on this subject? Because they seldom see a confirmation. This ignorance will soon be removed if confirmations are held annually in every parish. Now, with respect to another point—Ordination; there is a general complaint now, and it was stated at the Leeds Congress, that examinations for holy orders are more hurried than they ought to be. I think the bishops should have more time for examination and communicating personally with the candidates; and for that purpose there must not be too many candidates at each ordination. My diocese contains a population of 1,300,000 persons, and it is impossible that the work can be properly done by less than three—certainly not less than two—persons. Then, again, the institution of new incumbents to the cure of souls by the bishop in person is a most important element of good. If we multiply our bishops—provided their work touches the souls and consciences of men—no question will be raised as to their incomes or their social position. The people will say—this is a man who has done good to our souls, and we will follow his instructions. Whatever may be said to the contrary, I firmly hold to the principle that we must put the work to be done first, and let a voice go forth from Convocation to the whole of England that, whatever sacrifice may be required, the English bishops are ready in God's name and for the sake of the Church to make it."

At a later date he said at the Shropshire Conference:

"We have a great variety of associations, many of them excellent in themselves, and aiming at the highest objects; so we have artillery and engineers, cavalry and infantry; but we must have a commander-in-chief. Our general staff has been starved. I do not wish to magnify my office; at all events it is no personal aggrandisement, for a bishop is lowered rather than exalted by the multiplication of his order. I wish to be reduced one-half by being one of twice the present number of bishops. The exigency of the work requires it, and everything ought to give way to that. No bishopric, as a rule, ought to contain more than 500 parishes or more than 500,000 souls. That number of population ought, if there were no dissent, to yield annually 5,000 candidates for confirmation. The supply of that number of parishes would require thirty ordinations and thirty institutions annually. The bishop ought to be able to visit each parish once in three years, and to give a whole day to each for confirmation and inspection of the schools. To know his clergy and to be known of them is as much the duty of a bishop as it is the duty of a pastor to know his sheep and to be known of them."

In the following year the bishop uttered his laments at the needless hindrances in the way of dividing his see. At the Derby Archidiaconal Conference, he said:

"The surplus revenues of the bishopric and cathedral estates, brought into a common fund and supplemented by large gifts from private benefactors, have supplied an endowment to the vast number of new parishes which have been formed during the last thirty-five years. It is marvellous that out of this common fund, to which the richer bishoprics contribute annually a large sum, not one penny is allowed to be spent on the division of dioceses. The overworked parish priest may have his parish divided and the new districts endowed; but the overworked bishop is to have no relief unless the laity come forward to provide the endowment. In the case of Truro this has been done, and the Bishop of Exeter will now be relieved of Cornwall; but St. Albans still hangs on hand, though the Bishop of Winchester has given up his London house for the endowment of the new see. When I shall obtain the division of the diocese of Lichfield it is impossible to guess. The hindrance of property and money as usual stands in the way. A new bishop must have not less than 3,000*l.* a year, towards which I must not contribute more than 300*l.* a year.[1] It is all in vain that we can point to colonial bishops, happy, useful, respected, upon less than a third of that income, with needs tenfold greater than can befall a Church by law established. It must not be. Bishops must be of a certain type, their income must be fixed by statute; those who are below the scale must be raised up to it; those who are above that scale must be pared down to it; the surplus must go to multiplying parishes; but for a new bishopric we must wait until 100,000*l.* can be raised. Thus the lower object is placed above the higher. 'Episcopus,' says Bede, is 'nomen operis;' but we have made it a name of 'income and state.'"

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[1] Because 4,200*l.* is the minimum income of the bishops of the old sees

It was with a due sense of the paramount importance of dividing his See that he did, for him, a very unusual thing, and refused to subscribe towards the extension of the Denstone Schools. His sufficient reasons he set forth in the following letter:—

THE PALACE, LICHFIELD, *Nov.* 17*th*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. MEYNELL,

On the 27th September, 1877, at the Diocesan Conference I asked the diocese for 50,000*l.*, to meet another sum of 50,000*l.*, to be raised by the diocese of Lincoln. The sum of 100,000*l.* to yield 3,000*l.* per annum, the income required by Government, has to be supplied before the Bishopric of Southwell can be created.

To this day I have not received one shilling.

You have announced publicly, that 50,000*l.* (the same sum exactly as my requisition) is needed for Ellesmere Lower Middle School.

Towards this amount you have already received 10,000*l.* from twenty-eight donors of from 1,000*l.* to 100*l.*

It is not for me to estimate the comparative importance of the two objects: any more than to make a comparison between Ardingly School and a Colonial Bishopric. But the plain result of the whole matter is this: that as I am as much determined to have my new bishopric as Canon Woodard is to have his schools; and as there is much more public sympathy with the schools than with the bishopric, I must save up all the money that I can to meet the heavy tax which is laid upon us as the price of the new bishopric. If I had been allowed to do what we did in New Zealand, viz., readjust and divide our incomes, as often as new bishops were required, I would gladly have given a large contribution to Ellesmere out of my remaining moiety: because when once released from the "pomp and circumstance" of an English bishopric, I could have lived down to my own needs, instead of up to other people's notions. If the financial prospects should brighten and the Bishopric of Southwell be speedily established, I may live to contribute to your last and most difficult 10,000*l.*

Yours most truly,
G. A. LICHFIELD.

Probably no greater trial vexed the bishop in his English Episcopate than the dull and obstinate obstruction which legislation put in the way of his plans for the good of the Church; it was likely that he should feel them more keenly than those who had never experienced the freer life of a Church that was self-contained and self-governing. And this leads naturally to the question, what were his politics as a citizen? As in course of years he had lost all faith in lawyers, so he had abandoned all hopes of any politician caring for the interests, spiritual or temporal, of the Church, where such care imperilled the success or the power of his party. And as in Church matters no section or school claimed him as their leader or representative, so in secular politics he ranked under the standard of neither party. If to tolerate no sort of abuse, however ancient, or respectable, or fortified by prescription—if to make every institution to work up to the full limit of its capacity, and to expect from every man an amount of service limited only by his powers—if to insist that personal interest and individual feeling are to be sacrificed without hesitation to the real welfare of the Church or the community—if to hold these convictions and to act up to them at whatever cost is revolutionary or radical, then assuredly during his whole career George Augustus Selwyn deserved to be called revolutionary and radical. If, on the other hand, to revere ancient precedents, and carefully to follow and preserve whatever of good and useful they possessed—to have studied the works of great men of bygone ages, and so to have assimilated their precepts as to find in them principles of guidance amid all the novel combinations and emergencies of later times—to be suspicious of the boastings of the empiricism which despises antiquity—to be always loyal, obedient to authority, without thought of self,—if these are the *criteria* of reactionary conservatism, then, indeed, throughout his whole life he was a reactionary conservative.

Free of both parties, he was a Reformer where abuses demanded to be rectified, and a Conservative where attacks were made, either wantonly or unjustly, on institutions that were fulfilling their mission. The disestablishment of the Church in Ireland he called spoliation, but he never attempted to defend or to palliate the abuses which brought on that Church the changes which have befallen it. While standing on the ancient ways he never stood still.

In nothing was the bishop more sensitive than in regard to the exercise of patronage; his opinion was sought for under peculiar circumstances. A clergyman in another diocese, for whom a living was being held under bonds of resignation, was struck by a pamphlet written by the Bishop of Lincoln in which such bonds were strongly condemned: looking forward to being beneficed in Lichfield diocese the clergyman sought the advice of his future bishop, and received it in the following terms:—

> "There are very few points, if any, on which I differ from the Bishop of Lincoln, and on the subject of bonds of resignation I entirely agree with him. His distinction is a very clear and sound one, that they are lawful in the eye of the law, but not justified upon any sound principle. I would never advise a patron to execute such a bond, nor the son, in whose favour it was made, to take benefit of it."

This was an instance of his reforming instinct; his action in regard to the Burials Bill was an illustration of his strong conservatism. It was no new question to him; he had provided against any such claim in New Zealand; but the claim was made partly because Dissenters neglected to fence their cemeteries which had been given to them, and partly because they disliked to be marked as Dissenters; and when the same question confronted the bishop in England his mind was quite clear. He said only a few months before his death, "I have no concessions to offer, no compromises to accept. I hold that our burial-grounds belong to the National Church, to be governed by its laws; not to the nation, to be dealt with as they please. If Parliament wish to take them, they must take them by force; and then, as dutiful and loyal citizens, we submit."

In February, 1878, he was chosen to present to the Archbishop of Canterbury the declaration signed by 15,000 clergymen and by more than 30,000 laymen of position and education against the proposal which the Earl of Harrowby had made in Parliament. On presenting this address the Bishop said:—

> "In administering for ten years a diocese with a population of 1,300,000 souls, I have never met with a single grievance in connection with this burial question. The grievance now alleged as so important for furnishing a claim to break the ancient laws of the Church of England has never come within my knowledge. I have made many inquiries on the subject among the clergy, and have never yet found a single clergyman who could tell me that, in the course of his ministry, he has met with such a grievance as that which has been put forward as a justification for this alteration in the Burial Laws. On the other hand, the grievance proposed to be inflicted on the clergy is so great, that I, for my part, should concur with the whole body of my clergy in offering the utmost possible opposition to the Bill in all its stages."

In the same spirit the bishop advocated measures for "Church Defence," an inconvenient phrase which is generally limited to the exclusive defence of temporalities. He would have sacrificed everything external for the sake of the smallest particle of the deposit of truth; but while he had surrounded himself with no state or dignity save the moral grandeur of a holy life and a great example, and led the simplest of lives, he was desirous of counteracting the groundless statements which were assiduously circulated in newspapers, to the misleading of ignorant people, as to the claims, the history, and the constitution of the Church; and this he thought would best be done by newspapers and other publications written in the interests of truth. He was not enamoured of the scheme of controversial lecturers, and hated discussions by which nobody was convinced; and he held that the attacks of the Secularists and of the Liberation Society would be best met by a Church united for action by previous counsels and deliberation.

At the root of all his greatness there was the profoundest humility and sense of personal unworthiness. To a young clergyman who revealed to him his own burdens the bishop wrote, "Your letter is an epitome of my own past life. Continual self-reproach for (1) neglect of opportunities, (2) want of self-control; but what is worse than all is the constant presence of these thoughts without adequate correction of the defects. They have been with me a continual thorn in the flesh, and messengers of Satan. There is no other thought in which I can find comfort than in the hope that these buffetings have tended to subdue another enemy, self-complacence and pride, and to teach me to rely only on the grace of God as made perfect in weakness; I have never sought for any office nor work; all that I have ever held have been offered or thrust upon me; once in the work, its duties have to be done; the very sense of unworthiness stirring and driving the laggard spirit; not as urging one to do his best; for the very point of our compunction is that we do not do our best, but praying God to accept whatever we can do for the sake of the perfect obedience of His dear Son. I commend to you the same thoughts of comfort which have sustained me under the same difficulties, and pray that God may make your burden lighter, and enable you to bear it better."

CHAPTER IX.

LAST DAYS.

[1878.]

A SPLENDID physique and almost unabated vigour of mind justified a hope that services so invaluable would be continued to the Church at large and to the diocese of Lichfield especially, far beyond the span of years allotted to man. The bishop did not look like a man who had nearly completed his seventh decade, and when the end came it came with brief warning. In the beginning of 1878 there was no lessening of labour, nor any wish to lessen it. Anxiety for the efficiency of the great central institutions on which the well-being of the diocese depended, led to the appointment of a particular Sunday in January for a simultaneous Offertory in all the churches of the diocese in behalf of the General Diocesan Fund, which assisted the Theological College, Diocesan Inspection, the Poor Benefice Fund, the Clergy Widow and Orphan Fund, and the Clergy Pension Fund. The usual arrangements for Confirmation had been made, and had partially been carried out; the prisoners in the County Gaol had received a special visit from the bishop, and had been ministered to by him with no common interest or earnestness. Other Confirmations were approaching, when it became necessary that the bishop should consult a London physician. On Shrove Tuesday he returned to Lichfield, and the same evening, soon after his arrival, went with his accustomed kindness to see a friend who was ill. His appearance caused great anxiety; his face was flushed, and the left side seemed to be drawn down, as though by paralysis; two days later he was again hard at work writing, as his manner was, on large sheets of letter paper, carefully folded, his review of the case of S. Andrew's, Wolverhampton, which had been remitted to him from the Archbishop. To a friend who called on him he talked a little on the subject, and said *inter alia* that "Mr. Elliot, of Bournemouth, had admitted that the Low Church party did not act up to the Rubrics, and that he must tolerate both parties in slight and inoffensive deviations. *De minimis non curat Ecclesia*."

Ember week followed, and three out of the four examining chaplains were away; an unusual amount of labour therefore fell on the bishop, although the number of candidates was below the average. It was an ominous sign that he, always so careful and punctual, and doubly so in all matters relating to his ordinations, had forgotten that he would have to address the candidates on the Wednesday evening on the Gospel of the week. He devoted, however, a longer time than generally was possible to personal intercourse with each candidate. He was much pleased with them, and his hopeful spirit rose with the prospect of good, earnest, sensible men coming forward for holy orders.

On the eve of the Ordination Day he addressed the candidates with great earnestness and spiritual force on the Prayer of Humble Access in the Communion Service, especially on the words, "that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us," and the passage from St. John vi. 56. There were present those who had listened to his words on similar occasions both in New Zealand and in England, and they remarked that although they had heard greater intellectual efforts, they had never witnessed so wonderful a manifestation of spiritual power. They sang Mr. Whytehead's Ordination Hymn, which pleased him much, for he had recently been reading the memoir of his first chaplain, written by the Dean of Chester.

After the Ordination Sunday there were increased signs of weakness and of illness, and he was urged to rest and to give up the Shropshire Confirmations; but he said that fresh air and change of scene would do him good, and especially he wished to "go and confirm those dear boys at Shrewsbury." [1]

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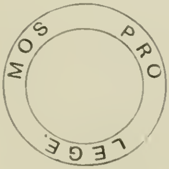
[1] It is the custom at Shrewsbury School that whenever a judge or a bishop visits it the head boy asks for a holiday in a Latin letter. Bishop Selwyn was wont to answer the boy's request in a Latin epigram. When the Public School Commissioners removed the bishop (= pontiff or bridge-maker) from the office of visitor, nothing remained but to get the boys a holiday from time to time. The first epigram which he wrote after his deposition was as follows:

"Viro Reverendo
HENRICO G. MOSS, A.M.
Epūs Lichf. S.P.D.,
Jam rude donatus.

"Dic mihi, Pontificis ne munere fungar inani,
Quo teneam flumen ponte, Sabrina, tuum—
Anglia nempe suos jactant et Cambria pontes,
Tertius immisso plaustra vapore vehit—
Quem nunc ædificem (proh! fatum triste) videtur
Solus 'Asellorum pons' superesse mihi—
Nil habeo quod agam, nisi dispensare Papaver,
Cessandi dominus desidiæque pater—
Nil mihi Musarum cultus, nil cura Minervæ,
Te solam æditnus, lenta vacuna, colo—
Lene, gubernantûm corpus, medicamen adimple
Officio functum confice Pontificem."

In 1873 the Bishop wrote the following *jeu d'esprit* to the Head Master, the Rev. H. G. Moss:—



"Dum sub monte Salem poscebat Etona salino,
'Mos pro lege' fuit norma latrocinii:
Sic ubi pontificem Salopes lucrantur alumni,
'Mos pro lege' sales desipuisse probat.
Annuit irridens pastor, moremque fatetur,
Σίγμα modo accedat δεύτερον, esse ratum."

His coadjutors helped him as affection prompted; but he got through the Shrewsbury Confirmation with much pain, and in the vestry he said, "I believe I have come to the end of my tether." His friends had observed that his address to the newly-confirmed was affectionate and fatherly, even more than was customary, and they asked him how, amid so much weakness and pain, he could speak with such vigour; he replied, "I held on by my hands and feet." The next day he returned to Lichfield, and devoted himself to the duty of resting as diligently as all his life he had given himself to work. "*Quod vult valde vult*" was always true of him. He took interest in all that went on, was pleased with a hymn on Ordination Vows, which had been sent to him in manuscript, and his old sailor's sympathies were much stirred by the loss of H.M.S. *Eurydice*. His sufferings and weakness increased, and on Saturday, April 6th, when Bishop Abraham came to see him early in the morning he said, "I have passed through the fire since I saw you, but I pray that I may be perfected through suffering like the Captain of our Salvation." In his wanderings he had said, "I am getting idle; who is seeing to that work?" His life for fifty years had been incessant toil and self-discipline, but his humility was as great as his energy, his ideal of duty loftier than he could attain to. It was proposed to him that he should receive the Holy Communion, and for three quarters of an hour he gave fixed attention, and spoke generally of faith in Christ, and to each person present he said some appropriate words; to his elder son he committed "the care of the orphans,"[1] and when he had blessed him he added, "The blessing of his father shall be upon the crown of the head of him who is separate from his brethren." By a wonderful effort of a devout will he joined in the Gloria in Excelsis, and gave the Benediction.

On Tuesday, April 9, Bishop Abraham, who was going to administer Confirmation at a distant spot, visited his friend before six o'clock in the morning. The curtains in his bedroom were still drawn, and the light of day was streaming into the room through the openings. Psalm cxxx. had just been read, and when the words "My soul fleeth to Thee before the morning watch" were uttered, he added in tones almost startling from their distinctness, "I say before the morning watch." All were struck with the strong feeling of thankfulness to God which he felt for the sufferings through which he had been carried. The words in the Visitation Service, "to be made like unto Christ," in suffering were very precious to him. Amid the wanderings caused by bodily weakness, his thoughts were with the distant islands for whom he had done so much, and to whose evangelisation, when his own active labours had ended, he had given his son. At one time he would exclaim, with kindling eye, "A light to lighten the Gentiles;" at another he would murmur, "They will all come back," as indeed the larger portion of those Maoris who apostatised have already returned; and then in the soft Maori language, which for a quarter of a century was familiar to him as his mother tongue, he would say, "It is all light." On Thursday, April 11, the end came. He had been unconscious for hours, but gave signs of pleasure at hearing Bonar's hymn, "A few more years shall roll," which had been sung at the consecration of the burial-ground at the workhouse at Stoke, and had much affected the old pauper inmates. About noon, surrounded by those who loved him well, who had shared his counsels and his labours on either side of the globe, the Commendatory prayer having been said by Bishop Abraham, he entered into his rest. A few moments there were of deep silence, and then, as was fitting, all stood up and recited the Apostles' Creed, never more thoroughly realising the mystery, or more thankfully professing faith in "the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting."

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[1] The children of Lord Justice Selwyn.

On the following Tuesday the body of the great bishop was laid, according to his own expressed desire, in a grave dug out of the rock, on which the cathedral of St. Chad is built, and by the side of the grave of his old friend Dean Champneys. The pressing duties of Passiontide did not prevent 500 clergymen from paying the last tribute of affection, and following him in orderly procession to his tomb: there were gathered on that occasion men who had held the foremost positions in the State and in the Church: there were also crowds of humbler folk who had been made to feel day by day that the bishop had always looked on poverty as having a special claim on him.

Bishops came from America and from all the colonies of the British Empire to attend the Lambeth Conference: they had been invited by the bishop and the dean and chapter to visit Lichfield, and worship in their "holy and beautiful house," and many a bishop had looked forward to the counsel that would be taken at Lichfield before the formal work of the Conference should begin; but some, before they left their own homes, had heard the sorrowful tidings, others learned it at ports where they stopped on their voyage, and all alike felt that the great attraction which was drawing them from their widely distant homes to meet at Lambeth had lost much of its power: they went, many of them, to Lichfield to stand by the grave of the friend whose guests they had hoped to be, and as in the past pilgrims have gone to Bemerton through love of George Herbert, to Frome through reverence for Bishop Ken, to Hursley as the home of the revered Author of the *Christian Year*, to Aberdeen as the scene of Seabury's consecration, to Westminster and to Lambeth as the sources whence the leaders of the hosts of the Lord have received mission to compass the strongholds of heathenism, or to build up young churches on new soils, so for many years to come from Australia, from New Zealand, from America, will travellers find their way to Lichfield out of reverence for the memory of the wise master-builder who founded the Church of New Zealand, and laboured hard to bind together all the Churches of our Communion in the bonds of the Spirit. Other feet have already trodden down the green turf which was placed around the bishop's tomb: the colliery folk whom he loved so well, and who in their rough fashion understood and valued his care for them who remembered his conduct on the occasion of the dire Pelsall Colliery Accident, when he stood between the living and the dead and in tender words comforted the mourners and bade the survivors learn the lessons which the calamity taught, crowded into Lichfield at the usual Whitsuntide holiday, and they too paid their tribute at the bishop's grave. The circumstance was commemorated in graceful verses which the author kindly allows to appear here.

In Memoriam

G. A. S.

1878.

TUESDAY IN WHITSUN WEEK, LICHFIELD. 1878.

"*The feet shall tread it down, even the feet of the poor and the steps of the needy.*"

" In Lichfield's holiest burial-place,
Just where the earliest sunbeams fall,
A new-made grave is decked with flowers
Beneath the old Cathedral wall.

" Why is the turf around that grave
Trampled with marks of many feet?
And where the grass was greenest, now
All black and miry as the street?

" It is the Whitsun holiday,
The town is filled with working men,
And all the livelong yesterday
They came and gazed, and came again.

"Poor of the flock he loved so well,
Well may ye crowd—ye sons of toil!
There lies no truer working man
In any grave in English soil.

"The hand that held the pastoral staff,
That traced the Cross on infant's brow,
Had hewn the oak, had furled the sail,
Had reaped the corn, and held the plough.

"The voice that soothed with tender words
The mourner and the little child,
In stern brief accents of command
Was heard above the tempest wild.

"His life was work; and when the springs
Of mortal strength began to fail,
And Reason's clear defining light
Was shrinking in behind the veil,

"A friend who watched beside his bed,
And strained his ear to hear if aught
Yet faltered on the dying lips,
One mournful utterance faintly caught

"In low words murmured heavily—
'Who's seeing to that work?' he said;
Is there no answer to that cry?
O Saviour of the faithful dead,

"Thy workers die—but for their work,
Can that too die?[1] O faithless word!
The Resurrection and the Life
Of all true work art Thou, O Lord!"

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[1] "God buries His workers, but carries on the work."—John Wesley.

CHAPTER X.

SUMMARY.

THIS biography will fail in symmetry unless some few pages are devoted to an attempt to sketch the various gifts and virtues, the elements of that personality which has been the subject of these volumes. The very thought of this necessity reveals the great difficulty of the task. In one respect, indeed, the task is easy. Bishop Selwyn's career was singularly simple, using the epithet in its literal sense: he was a stranger to all double dealing, and his mind and conscience recoiled from diplomacy and finesse; he had the courage of his opinions and was fearless and outspoken, and yet (of how few public men could the same thing be said?) so gentle was he in the use of language that among the many hundreds of letters and documents which have formed the texture of this biography, and which have at times dealt with subjects on which men have felt so acutely that chief friends have been divided, not a single paragraph has been suppressed, either because its appearance would convict the writer of a self-seeking policy, or would give pain to one living soul. Nothing appears in any of these documents, nothing has been suggested by any who may have personally been opposed to his action, which has at all impugned the uniform nobility of his life and the healthy vigorous manliness (*virtus*) which characterized his every action. "*Qualis ab incepto*" might with truth be written on his tomb. Everything that is generally associated with true heroism—contempt of softness and comfort—indifference to applause or censure—chivalrous defence of the oppressed and the weak—hatred of aught that is mean and sordid—resolute devotion to duty—obedience to discipline so implicit as to seem to be without effort—unquestioning recognition of the claims of duty in the smallest things as well as in the greatest—all these are at once apparent, and examples illustrative of them all are ready to hand; in this sense, therefore, it is not difficult to draw a picture of what he was. It is when we proceed to show how under this simple and uniformly consistent life a character existed not only many-sided but almost myriad-sided, that the difficulty begins; and yet it must be evident to those who have studied the all imperfect portraiture which these pages have given, that while he had the fervid zeal of S. Paul, he had the tenderness which made S. Barnabas the Son of Consolation, while he had the stern asceticism of S. John the Baptist he had imbibed the spirit of the Beloved Disciple, while he grieved over the necessity of serving tables in the spirit of Martha, he loved to meditate on divine mysteries at the feet of his Lord in the spirit of Mary, while he was indifferent to money as ever was Devotee, who had burdened his conscience with vows of poverty, he was careful almost to parsimony in the expenditure of the charities, and shrewd and thrifty in building up the endowments of the Church; though a born leader of men, attracting by the force of his beautiful character men of highest gifts and graces, he was humble and obedient, and regarded himself ever at the unconditional disposal of his superiors; with much of combativeness in high spirit and resolute will, he contended never for party ends or opinions, but always for the truth, and even then the very existence of controversy gave him pain.

It was surely a wonderful combination that together with the zeal that inspired a life with impetuous unceasing effort, leading to the forsaking of all the world holds dear, there should have been found a patience and humble labouring at merely rudimentary details of which there was little hope of seeing any matured result. Yet was not the early preparation for an unknown and unconjectured future, a sort of daily acted, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" a remarkable example of patient waiting on God's will in the firm resolution to obey whatever call might come? The most sanguine view of the Melanesian venture must have been limited, so far as the first agents were concerned, to the establishing of friendly relations with the heathen and to the acquisition of some of their many strange tongues, in order that future bishops and missionaries might enter into his labours; nothing could have been more irksome to an elegant scholar than to drive day after day elementary subjects into the unreceptive brains of colonial-born lads; it was all foundation work, but he did it as in God's sight. Still more unwearied and watchful was his patience, the fruit of his zeal, in the more immediately spiritual work of dealing with souls. However often his efforts were repulsed he never relaxed. One example must be quoted, and it is as good as a thousand.

While coasting along the Northern Island of New Zealand the bishop was once a fellow-passenger with a Deist who had with execrable taste shocked his fellow-passengers by reviling Christianity. The steamer reached the harbour at ten o'clock on a very dark night and dropped her anchor some two miles from shore. The pilot came off to fetch the mails, and the bishop agreed to go ashore in his boat. The Deist asked to be allowed to go too. Midway between the steamer and the shore a breeze sprang up; the boat was drifted out of its course and struck on a shoal; with some difficulty it was shoved off, and five minutes afterwards it struck on a rock and was in great peril. The bishop seized on the opportunity to grapple with the man's soul, and asked him, "how he could venture to meet his Judge, trusting in his own merits and to the uncovenanted mercies of God who had revealed the one way of Salvation in that Name which he had been all the day blaspheming?" The poor man could only say, "I believe Pythagoras had some theory of repentance," and then the bishop pointed out that an unknown theory was a broken reed to which to trust, whereas Christians knew in Whom they believed: but the man said it was too late then to change.

He was hard and exacting, it was often said, and not untruly; he never praised men for doing their duty, and to none was he harder than, to none was he so hard as, he was to himself. Brought up in the most aristocratic and luxurious school, he ever trained himself to endure hardness as a condition of useful service for God; the raiment of camel's hair and the leathern girdle seemed to him more appropriate to the calling of the evangelist of the nineteenth century, than purple and fine linen and sumptuous fare. If at any time he exacted from others more than they could perform, his very strictness was but the result of his humility; he never realized the fact that he could do more, physically and intellectually, than other men; so lowly was his opinion of himself, that he thought all men could do as he did, and was content with no smaller measure of service; the indifference which made him feel at home on board ship, in Maori huts, in his own tent on a New Zealand Hill, or on his later journeys in the Black Country, and amid his ministrations among the Canal population, had become to him a second nature, and he had no opinion of men who thought twice about putting up with such discomforts: for any men who shrank from disagreeable duty he had neither pity nor sympathy; in like manner he lashed out impetuously against aught that was wrong, or mean, or cowardly: instances of this could be produced in legions; but it must be added that he often regretted warm and hasty words into which a godly jealousy for the right had tempted him. To one who had neglected duty he said after reproving him sharply, "I seem, sir, to have two duties to perform, first to take you down and then to take myself down."

In contrast and yet in combination with his heroic Pauline boldness, which was indignant at the sight of sin and meanness, there was the tenderest compassion and sympathy with the weak and the erring. It was not merely the loving, amiable disposition which had made him when under his father's roof the family friend and peacemaker, and which afterwards at Eton led a friend to write, "If there were any misunderstanding among friends, he would not rest till they were reconciled; if pecuniary difficulty fell upon any one, he would make every endeavour to extricate him; if his friends were ill, he was their nurse and companion; if they lost relations or fell under any great sorrow, he was with them at any hour to console and uphold; he was the friend, the adviser, the comforter of all who would admit him to their confidence;" this amiability and expressive power of sympathy did indeed make him the very best nurse trained or untrained that sick man ever had, led him to spend hours and hours beyond what his spiritual duties demanded in the military hospitals, induced him to be present with soldiers and Maoris when they were suffering the horrors of amputation at the hands of the surgeons; but it was a far deeper principle than mere amiability, it was the sense of his own need of mercy and forgiveness that made him tender even to weakness in dealing with sinners. In New Zealand he was often pained by the severity of the discipline which the native teachers in their new-born intemperate zeal were wont to exercise when left to their own discretion. On one occasion a Maori woman met him with tears, having been expelled from her village for an act of sin. "Her tears and cries," he wrote, "in this wild and distant country touched my heart with the thought of the universal prevalence of sin, and of its invariable fruit of sorrow. The native teachers are often offended with me for what they consider a mistaken lenity; but I cannot do otherwise than follow the example of our Lord, and leave the issue in His hands."

Still more difficult was it to induce him to exercise discipline on peccant clergymen; he shrank from bringing them to punishment and to deprivation, and always hoped that even the greatest offenders would amend. So his strength and his patience, his severity towards himself and his gentleness towards others, seem not to be contradictions or inconsistencies, but to justify the application to him of Carlyle's words, "Unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens like an Alpine mountain; yet with clefts in it, and fountains, and green, beautiful valleys with flowers."

Finding himself at the head of a variety of missionary machinery and organization that had accumulated without system during twenty-five years, the early years of his residence in New Zealand were well described by him as his deacon episcopate: during these years he had to attend to an infinity of small details as well as to conceive and undertake "enterprises of great pith and moment." There were occasions when both the strain threatened to be too great for his physical strength, and when he feared that his spiritual life would be crushed out by an overwhelming burden of material cares; great things and small, high conceptions and menial tasks, all added their weight to the burthen: from providing a system of government for the Church, and endowing Episcopal sees and so founding new Churches each with their hopes of future expansion, to redeeming barren acres and making them into smiling cornfields, or to teaching Papuan savages the first decencies of civilized existence, these and all the intermediate duties and functions weighed him down. And yet amid these exaggerations of a Martha's service his spiritual life was kept bright and vigorous, his care not being limited to the things of the particular Church which he ruled, but his prayers and sympathies being given in the interests of the Mother Church, his spirit rejoicing in her reforming spirit and renewed life, and going forth with those who were her champions and defenders. To considerations of money he was so indifferent that poverty seemed unable to affect him; he voluntarily gave up more than half of his original income in New Zealand, and when that moiety was taken away he still reduced the remaining portion, and had all been taken from him he would have remained at his post, had he followed apostolic example and worked for his daily bread. So limited were his resources that at one period he was obliged to make a visitation tour of some months' duration quite unattended, carrying his own clothes on his back; but he made no complaint, and the fact would never have been recorded had not others made it known; he never owned an acre of land in New Zealand, yet so keen was his artistic delight in beautiful scenery that he may be said, while "having nothing" to "have yet possessed all things"; he answered to Wordsworth's description of

"The good priest, who faithful through all hours
To his high charge, and truly serving God,
Has yet a heart and hand for trees and flowers."

At Lichfield he surrounded himself with no worldly state, and when in London his "town-house" was a set of rooms sufficient for all purposes of health and comfort, but for nothing more, at the Lollard's Tower. In each condition of income, whether 400*l.* as in New Zealand, or 4,500*l.* as at Lichfield, there was the same measure of hospitality ever extended towards all, and especially to the poor. John Wesley's motto, "Save all you can and give all you save," was often quoted by him, and he did not think that charity began until after a tithe had been paid to God. "Whatever your income," he wrote once to his son, "remember that only nine-tenths of it are at your disposal." Preaching in 1854, on behalf of the Tithe Redemption Trust, the bishop said:—

> "We shall not touch men's consciences by going out at once into the field to search for some tenth sheaf of corn, or some tenth lamb, which is exacted for the use of some lay impropriator; but by carefully scrutinizing all our items of expenditure, most of them the growth of ages

later than the establishment of tithe; every exotic fruit, exquisite fish, and pampered fowl; every costly flower and precious jewel, and goodly apparel; every servant and horse and carriage; every piece of plate and gorgeous furniture; every treasure of painting or of sculpture, even every rare book; and, above all, by looking closely into those sources of revenue which are of modern years, the rents of palaces standing where scarcely a cow fed a few years ago; money locked in the funds, and yielding annually its untithed interest; of all and every one of these items of expenditure, or of these sources of income, it is our bounden duty to ask the question—Has it paid tribute to whom tribute is due? Has it paid its Redemption Tithe in thankful acknowledgment of the mercy of that Saviour who bought us with the price of His own body and blood? I am a stranger here, and I speak therefore with less confidence; but my impression is, that the tithe of which I now speak has not been paid. The proof seems to be this, that misery, and want, and spiritual destitution has gone on increasing, while the nation was every year advancing in wealth and luxury. . . .

"What is the cure for socialism? Surely it is the return to the true spirit of the apostolic age, of which socialism is a godless counterfeit. It is to take care that no child, no widow, no orphan, no emigrant, no heathen shall be neglected in the daily distribution of all things needful, both for soul and body. What this may cost, after so many years of neglect, it is as impossible to tell as it is to calculate what portion of our income may be required for the purposes of the righteous war in which we are now engaged. All that we can call our own is what neither our God nor our country demands. Yea, let Him take all, who gave all; not only all these earthly things, but his own Son, the brightness of His own glory, and the express image of His person."

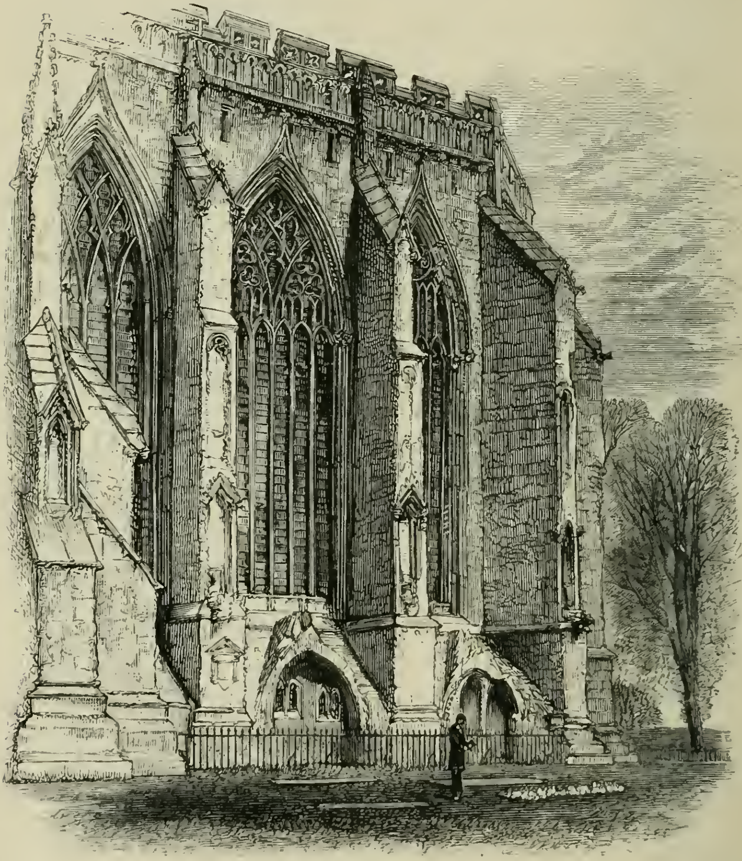
And with all this lavish expenditure for God there was careful, even painful and rigid economy in the smallest things, and this as a matter of conscience. He provided for the insurance of Church property and the lives of the clergy with the skill of a practical actuary, and carefully nursed every endowment however small. It was a difficult thing to teach the young men at the Waimate that a daily unnecessary consumption of even a little flour would just settle the question whether one more Pagan lad could be admitted and so be trained as a Christian, and in a wider sphere it was not less difficult to make settlers understand the sanctity of gifts of charity and the duty of utilizing and husbanding them to the utmost.

It was no unimportant trait in his character that a man who had drawn to a participation in his labours a Whytehead and a Patteson, as well as others, of whom as being yet with us no mention can be made, should have ever been humble in spirit, prone to consult others, to put off even the accustomed authority of his position, to strengthen himself by conference and counsel, and to hold himself at the orders of his recognized superiors. He seemed more than other men ever to "unite with self-forgetting tenderness of heart an earth-despising dignity of soul." Ready always to act on the combative instincts which were within him whenever wrong and injustice raised their heads, he was a lover of peace. His mind was receptive rather than controversial, ready to accept and believe rather than to entertain the speculative doubts which to a keen intellect are not without their attractions and temptations.

The romance which surrounded much of his work at the Antipodes led to a general impression that his physical courage was very great; that it might be said of him, as Nelson said of himself, that he "never saw fear." But this is an error; he was naturally nervous, more for the sake of others than himself, and herein he differed from Bishop Patteson, who was a stranger to fear, and in his early days in Melanesia had often to be called back when he was going into danger. It was moral courage that overmastered his natural fear, and it was moral courage that made him on all occasions what he was; the undaunted champion of what was right and true, who feared nothing so much as the reproof of his own conscience.

Commanding intellect and humble faith, unswerving obedience and inexhaustible charity, tender heart and dauntless courage—these surely were combined in George Augustus Selwyn, and make his memory and example a precious inheritance for all time.

> "Lift up your hearts, ye Mourners! for the might
> Of the whole world's good wishes with him goes:
> Blessings and Prayers in nobler retinue
> Than sceptred King or laurelled Conqueror knows,
> Follow this wondrous Potentate."



In Pace.

INDEX TO VOLUME II.

INDEX.

A

APALE, George Nelson Hector, 5
Abraham, Rev. C. J. (Bishop of Wellington), 6, 42, 43, 55, 78, 273, 372
Anaiteum, 7
Acland, Sir T. D., the late, 60
Adams, John, 64
Anarchy in Church, 141, 143, 144
Athanasian Creed, 351, 352
Ashwell, Rev. B., 2, 189
Adelaide, Bishop of, 193
America, visits of Bishop Selwyn to, 286 *et seq.*, 319 *et seq.*
Alms Dish, American, 302 *et seq.*
    Bishop Wordsworth's lines on, 305
Anglican Church, Mission of the, 320
Artistic sense, Bishop Selwyn's, 383
Augustine's, S., College, 30
Ahu Levi Te, 40, 43, 53

B

BARNABAS, S. Day, 68
Bayonnais, French man-of-war, 76
Blackburne, Rev. S., 79
Barbados, 307
Barge Mission, 317
Bertha, Queen, 66
Bible, Analysis of, 37
Bingham's Antiquities, 228
Brighton Church Congress, 325
Border Maid, 5, 8, 10, 331
Browne, Professor Harold (Bishop of Winchester), 57, 147
Broughton, Bishop, 267
Body, Rev. G., 315
Brotherhoods, 316, 354
Bodington, Rev. C., 341, 343 *et seq.*
Bonds of Resignation, 366
Bonar's, Dr., hymn, 373
Bull, Rev. C., 22
Blunt, Professor, 58
Burials Bill, 366 *et seq.*

C

CAMBRIDGE, sermons at, in 1851, 33
Chatham Islands, 52
Caledonia, New, 75
Carlingford, Lord, 160
Champneys, Dean, 204, 375
Capetown, Bishop of, 232
Chapel at Lichfield, 247
Chapter, Lichfield, 273, 284, 315
Canada, Church in, 320
Cairns, Earl, 335
Clergy, supply of, 276 *et seq.*, 328
Celestine, Pope, 333
Creeds, conspectus of the, to face p. 352
Christchurch, Bishop of, 68, 261
Chichester College, 275
    Bishop of, 325
Confirmation, 2, 81
Coleridge, Rev. E., 6, 28, 61, 206, 331
Commodore barque, 22
Cross, Southern, 35, 60, 68, 76, 211
Constitution of New Zealand Church, 69, 97 *et seq.*
Cho, John, 71
College, fruits of, 77
Coleridge, Sir J. T., 87, 131, 349
Convocation, speeches of Bishop Selwyn in, 141, 307, 358
    Questionings in, 146 *et seq.*
Cookson, Dr., 211
Conference, Synod or, 253
Conferences, Lichfield (see Synods, Diocesan)
Cowie, Rev. W. G. (Bishop of Auckland), 267, 307

Confirmations in Lichfield 268 *et seq.*, 329
Courage, Bishop Selwyn's, 385
Church and State, 210, 257, 258
Cuddesdon College, 275
Curteis, Rev. G. H., 285
Church defence, 367

D

D.V. and D.G., 3
Dalton, Rev. C. B., 229
Denison, Sir W., 60
"Defenceless hands," 178
Departure for England (1867), 228
Derby, Earl of, 236 *et seq.*
Denstone School, 358
Deist, appeal to a, 379
Dissenters, relations with, 7, 9, 73, 93, 355, 356
Divisions, evil of, 234
Discipline, Bishop Selwyn's unwillingness to exercise, 381
Dunedin, 223 *et seq.*, 307

E

ENGLAND, visit to, in 1854, 22
  Object of, 25
  Left, 35, 37
Eccleshall Castle, 241
Ember-weeks, 282, 370
Edensor, 248
Exeter Synod, 250
  Surplice Riots, 232
Ellesmere Schools, 364
Eclipse, H.M.S., 185
Episcopate, extension of, 358, 363
Eliot, Rev. P. F., 370
Eton, sermon at, 27
Enthronement of Bishop at Lichfield, 244, 247
Education, religious, 358
Eurydice, H.M.S., 372
Ely Synod, 250

F

FABLES, Æsop's, 204
Falkland Islands, 26
Farquhar, Sir W., 62
Feild, Bishop, 320
Fredericton, 321
Fund, Diocesan, 256, 369

G

GATE PA, the, 196
Grace, Rev. Mr., 198, 208
Gratitude, barque, 20
Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., 88, 89, 228
Geddie, Mr., 7
George's-in-the-East, S., 232
Grey, Sir George, 21, 89, 159, 174
Greek Church at Wolverhampton, 349
Gold, discovery of, 11
Gloucester and Bristol, Bishop of, 149
Govett, Archdeacon, 241

H

"HASTINGS, Battle of," 58
Hawkins, Rev. E., 42, 69, 91
Hamilton, Bishop, 147, 150
Hau-hauism, 197
Harrowby, Earl of, 235, 254
Halifax, 320
Hebrides, New, 73
Hector Nelson, 78
Herbert, George, 256
Herbert, Hon. R. C., 350
Home, Sir Everard, 11
Hobhouse, Bishop, 78, 350
Howe, Bishop, 288
Hume, Joseph, M.P., 173

I

IRELAND, Church in, 108, 272
Intercession, Days of, 306
Inglis, Mr. and Mrs., 7
Iris, H.M.S., 76
Industrial training, triumph of, 11, 211

J

JEREMIE, Professor, 58
Jerusalem Bishopric Act, 212
Jenner, Bishop, 225 *et seq.*
Jewry, S. Lawrence, services at, 231 *et seq.*
'Joshua,' Maori deacon, 164
John's, S., College, Cambridge, chapel consecrated, 271
Justification by faith, the teaching of Easter, 4
Juno, H.M.S., 62
Judicial Committee of Privy Council, 34, 260, 339
Jubilee of American Board of Missions, 288, 190
'*Jus Cyprium*,' 333

K

KATATORE, 43, 53
Karaka Adama, 43—45
Kawau, 77
Kerguelin's Island, 41
King, W., 46, 51, 161, 172
King New Zealand, 161 *et seq.*
Kidderminster, 194
Kingston, Bishop of, 321
Kohimarama, 8, 79, 222

L

Ladybird, Ladybird, &c., 46
Lambeth Conference (1867), 139, 227, 228
  (1878), 155, 290, 323
Lifu, 8, 74, 75
Lichfield, 139, 237 *et seq.*, 244
  Palace Chapel, 204
Lightfoot, Dr., 241
Lights on the Altar, 335
Litigation, 338
Lloyd, Rev. J. F., 93, 241
Longley, Archbishop, 145, 224, 239
London, Bishop of (Dr. Tait), 152, 228
Lonsdale, Bishop, 235, 246, 251, 358
Lollard's Tower, 383

M

MAORI, declension of race, 1
Malicolo, 7, 65
Mackenzie, Bishop, 33
Maria Santa, 65
Mai, 70
Martin, Sir W., 88, 131, 228, 235, 245, 349
Maunsell, Archdeacon, 2, 168, 169, 189
Mauku, 170
Maori Church, farewell addresses of, 265 *et seq.*
Manning, Archdeacon, 331
Martin *v.* Machonochie, 339
Melanesia, plans for the Mission to, 29, 70
  Endowment of, 30, 31
Melbourne, Bishop of (Perry), 12, 88
'Mediator' speech, 181
Melanthracia, 257
Meum and Tuum, 272
Medley, Bishop, 321
Missionary Bishops, 212
Missionary work, Principles of, 291 *et seq.*
Minnesota, Bishop of, 297, 320
Missions, Home, 314
  Foreign, 319
Michael and George, SS., Order of, 327
Mota, 74, 211
Monarchical idea of Episcopate, 89
Montreal, 320

N

NABONG, George, 20
Native ordination, 17
Native ministry, 301 *et seq.*
Naboth's Vineyard, 45
Nengone, 8, 21
Newcastle, Duke of, 185, 212
Nelson Bishopric, 210
New Zealand, departure for, in 1855, 37
  in 1868, 259
New Jersey, Bishop of, 287
Newfoundland, 320
Nebraska, 321
Nihill, Rev. W., 7, 8
Norfolk Island, 21, 59—61, 63, 70, 74

O

OTAKI, 201
Otago, 224
Organic Union, 323
Objections to Synodal action, 255
Obligations, pastoral, 195
Ordination of natives, 227
Ordinations at Lichfield, 284, 370
Opotiki, 198, 199

P

PAUL, S., 9
Patteson, Rev. J. C. (afterwards Bishop), 8, 28, 36, 37, 42, 59, 67, 71, 75, 79, 131, 193, 212, 214, 261, 305, 322, 385
Patteson, Sir J., 62, 65, 72, 87, 131, 165, 349
  Port, 74
Pastoral letter to Church-people at Taranaki, 47 *et seq.*
Pitcairn Island, 59, 60, 63
Patent Letters, 88
  Petition to resign, 135
Payne, Rev. S. W., 192
Patriarchate of Canterbury, 307
Parish, a neglected, 353
Peria, 180
Petition of New Zealand Bishops to the Crown, 223

Pennsylvania, Bishop of, 290
Peak, High, the, 336
Pelsall Colliery, 375
Privy Council, action of, 34, 260
Pirimona, 169, 170
'Pig-stye' hospitality, 178
    Verses on, 178
Pinder, Canon, 275
Phillimore, Sir R. J., 335
Philpotts, Bishop, 250
Portland, Duke of, 37, 42
Plymouth, New (*see* Taranaki)
Polygamy, 57
Potatau Chief, 161
Poverty Bay, 198
Potteries, five days' work in the, 248
'*Probationer System*,' 278 *et seq.*
Potter-Selwyn Prize, 325
Politics, Bishop Selwyn's, 365
Public Worship Regulation Act, 334, 339
Punch, lines in, 242

Q

Queen, H.M. the, 240
Queen's Redoubt, 174, 188
Quebec, Bishop of, 229, 321

R

Rawiri, murder of, 53
Rawle, Bishop, 307
'Ramah' at Lichfield, 318
Reformation, principles of the, 332
Renata, 177
Regiment, H.M. 57th, 185
Rewi, Chief, 209
Ryle, Rev. J. C., 315
Richardson, Sir J., 88
Ritualism, 142, 338
Rivington, Rev. L., 315
Rota Waitoa (*see* Waitoa)
Rome, Church of, 332, 334, 357

S

Santa Cruz, 7
Siapo, 8
Sailing Orders, 38
Swainson, Mr., 85 *et seq.*, 131
Swainson, Canon, 275
Stanley, Dean, 229
Sancroft, Archbishop, 241
Selwyn, W., Q.C., 37, 39, 55
    Rev. Professor, 57
    Lord Justice, 271
Selwyn, Rev. W., jun., 166, 193
    Consecration of Rev. J. R., 325
Shrewsbury School, 371
Sydney, 61, 267
S. Stephen's Day, 1865, 206
    School, 349
Sermon on consecration of Bishop Patteson, 214 *et seq.*
Stevens, Bishop, 290
Sierra Leone, 307
Schools for Maoris, 2
Schoolmistress, native, 2
Solomon Islands, 7
Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, 11
Southern Cross (*see Cross, Southern*)
"Synod or Conference," 253
Synod, Farewell of New Zealand, 261
Synodal Action, 84, 139, 140, 228
Synods, General, 108 *et seq.*, 138, 201, 260
    Diocesan, 129, 250 *et seq.*, 254, 328
Stockmar, Baron, 240
Stoke-on-Trent Church Congress, 325
Surly, 41
Styx, steamer, 76

T

Taranaki, 43, 47, 162, 165, 172, 188
Tasmania, 70, 175
Taratoa, Henry, 77, 204
Thatcher, Rev. F., 93, 260
Taniwha Te, 159
Tataraimaka, 181 *et seq.*
Tamahana Wiremu, 181
Tauranga, 193
Talke, 249
Taupaki, Rev. M., 267
Teira Te, 163, 186
Theological College at Lichfield, 274
Tenderness, Bishop Selwyn's, 378
Thirlwall, Bishop, 229
Trinidad, 357
Tithes, 383, 384
Thol, John, 7, 8, 10
Thompson, W., 167, 183
Trower, Bishop, 260
Toronto, 320

U

Ua Horopapera Te, 195
Uses of Synods, 251

V

Victoria, brig, 21, 59
Vanua Lava, 73

Vestry meetings, 93 *et seq.*
Volkner, Rev. Mr., 198, 206, 208

W

Waitoa Rota, 2, 17, 40, 43
Waiapu, Bishop of, 79, 127
Waitara, 83, 163 *et seq.*, 181
War, Maori, 156 *et seq.*
  Prayer during, 203
Waitangi Treaty, 158, 173
Waikato, 163, 164, 173, 175
Whanganui, 180
Warren *v.* Wesleyan Society, 308
Wynyard, Col., 11, 16
Webster, Daniel, 20
Wellington, Bishop of, 186, 267, 271
Westbury, Lord, 223
Wells College, 275
Westerton *v.* Liddell, 340
Whytehead, Rev. T., 370, 385
Windsor, Holy Trinity Church, 27
Wilberforce, Bishop, 146 *et seq.*
Williams, Archdeacon W. L., 241
Whipple, Bishop, 320
Wolverhampton Church Congress, 139, 232 *et seq.*, 246
Wood, Bishop, 241
Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 305, 366
Wolverhampton, S. George, 319
  Ritualism at, 338, 341, 370

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